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Sir P. Lely. pinx. S. Freeman. sc.

PRINCE RUPERT.

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MEMOIRS

OF

PRINCE RUPERT,

AND THE CAVALIERS.

Including their Private Correspondence,

B.26

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

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BY

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ELIOT WARBURTON,

AUTHOR OF "THE CRESCENT AND THE CROSS"

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

SS-f-2

LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY,

Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

M.DCCC.XLIX.

00029825

LONDON:
Printed by S. & J. BENTLEY and HENRY FLEY,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY

GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERIC,

EARL OF CLARENDON,

THE FIRM BUT

MERCIFUL SUPPRESSOR OF A CIVIL WAR,

THIS WORK IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

For the First and Second Volumes of this Work I am answerable as an Author; for the last, as little more than Editor. I have undertaken the responsibility of introducing therein a large Collection of Original Papers relating to the Civil Wars.

This Collection is derived from Colonel Benett, Prince Rupert's Secretary. It contains upwards of a thousand letters, written by the leading Cavaliers to their young Chief during the war, together with many of a later date. Besides such letters, there are considerable materials, in various stages of preparation, for a formal biography of the Prince; of these some are fragments, each containing an episode of their hero's life, apparently ready for publication, and corrected by Rupert himself. His biography was of more importance to this Prince than to most men: no person, perhaps, except his Royal Master, was ever more exposed to calumny, or less defended. He seems to have

superintended the preparation of his Memoirs about the year 1657, in order to meet the misconstructions of his actions which he apprehended in England, the country of his adoption. On the Restoration he found that his popularity was already restored, in the same hour with that of his Royal kinsman; and from this time the preparations for his biography appear to have ceased. The extraordinary vicissitudes of his career were then nearly terminated. At all events, from this period I am obliged to seek in other sources for biographical materials.

Besides the notices of Rupert in the general history and the memoirs of the time, I have been so fortunate as to obtain through the Earl of Dartmouth's kindness many letters written by the Prince to his Lordship's ancestor: Evelyn's Diary, Bromley's Royal Letters, and Sir Henry Ellis's Collection, furnish some others. The Prince's "Declarations" relating to his naval expeditions, with a few very brief autographs are the only remaining productions of his pen that I have been able to procure.

The Benett Collection[1] consists of the following documents:—

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[1] This Collection has been transmitted from generation to generation, by Prince Rupert's Secretary to his descendant, Mr. Benett, of Pyt House, in Wiltshire, M.P. for the Southern Division of that County. This gentleman naturally placed a high value on such records, and it was by a very spirited speculation on Mr. Bentley's part that he became their proprietor and publisher.

First.—Upwards of One Thousand Original Letters from the leading Cavaliers. Of these I have only been able to use a comparatively small proportion, but an alphabetical index and abstract of them all will be found at the end of this Volume,[1] which I trust will prove of some importance to the historian and to the student of history. Among them are numerous letters from Kings Charles I. and II., the Dukes of York, Richmond, and Buckingham; Lords Worcester, Hertford, Newcastle, Clarendon, Goring, Digby, Langdale, Culpepper, Hopton; from Will. Legge, Ashburnham, Berkeley, and many other persons.

Secondly.—A MS. relating to Prince Rupert's early life. This is imperfect and fragmentary, I have, therefore, only quoted from it.

Thirdly.—A MS. of some length recording Prince Rupert's adventures as Admiral of the Royal fleet, and his Corsair expedition among the Western Islands and on the Spanish Main. With this is a sort of "log," or journal of the cruise from September 1651 to March 1653, which will be found in the Appendix to the Third Volume.

Fourthly.—Another MS., which I have called in the references to it, "Prince Rupert's Diary." It is not an autograph of his, however, but a some-

[1] The long table of Contents at the end of the Third Volume has obliged me to place this abstract thus. There are some unavoidable inaccuracies in the arrangement, which was a work of considerable difficulty.

what vague chronological collection of anecdotes relating to the Prince; it appears to have been written at different times, on the authority of different eye-witnesses of the actions or other circumstances that it relates.

In addition to these original sources, I have availed myself of the Lansdowne, Harleian, Bodleian, Ashmolean, Sloane, and other MSS. open to the public, together with the vast collection in the State Paper Office, which last, I regret to say, were very imperfectly explored.

From private collections, I have gratefully to acknowledge very generous contributions. The scarcity of Royalist correspondence during the Civil Wars is not surprising, when we consider the devastations to which Cavalier property was subjected by the conquering Roundheads; and the careful suppression of such documents on the part of those who had to fear the vengeance of their enemy. I have sought amongst many of the descendants of the leading Cavaliers for such letters, but in very few instances with success. I am, therefore, the more deeply indebted for those which I have obtained through the kind liberality of the Duke of Beaufort, the Duke of Somerset, Lord Denbigh, Lord Dartmouth, Lord Craven, Lord John Fitzroy, Lord Wrottesley, Lord Hastings, Mr. Ormsby Gore; and of others, who have assisted me by their local knowledge and information.

Nor must I here forget to mention my obligation to the excellent library of Mr. Halliday of Glenthorne, the stores of which were ever hospitably open to me, when debarred from almost all others, in the seclusion of the loveliest but loneliest part of Devonshire.

I am far from professing to offer any result proportionate to such materials. To assimilate so vast and varied a mass into pure historical substance would require far more time and talent than I am able to command: I have, therefore, made the best selection in my power from these materials, and present the result to the reader. I hope that in most instances the letters I have introduced may be found to justify the deductions drawn from them.

I thought it necessary to say thus much for the authorities I have consulted. As the permanent value of these Volumes must depend upon the Original Documents that they contain, it seemed necessary to give some account of them.

I also wish to make the following observations on some other points. The first Volumes had passed through the Printers' hands before the appearance of Mr. Macaulay's great Work, which, I hope, will exculpate me from the charge of unacknowledged plagiarism in one or two instances, especially in the sketch I have endeavoured to make of Old London: my work was in autumn interrupted for some months, and ultimately very rapidly

finished. Some friends, for whose judgment I have great respect, objected to the number of notes which I have introduced: it was too late to profit by their advice in this respect; but I submit that Memoirs are less subject to blame on this ground, than a professed History would be. It is true, that notes might impede "the stately march" of the latter; but to the former they may, perhaps, be permitted, as a sort of gossiping attendants that need not be listened to by those who consider their garrulity as importunate.

This is the first biography[1] that has been published of Prince Rupert. Those who may hereafter write of his extraordinary and eventful story will at least find good materials in the following pages for their task, and I sincerely hope they may turn them to better account than I have done.

I ought to mention, for the information of some few readers, that the year in the seventeenth century began on the 25th of March; but for the sake of simplicity I have used the present mode of dating.

London, April 20th, 1849.

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[1] I do not reckon as biographies the sketches, however successful or the reverse, which are to be found in the "Biographie Universelle" and the cyclopædias, Lloyd's "Loyalists," Horace Walpole's "Lives of the Painters," Lodge's "Portraits," Campbell's "Admirals," and Mr. Jesse's "Court of the Stuarts;" or even the little "History of the Heroicall Prince Rupert," published in 1683, which would scarcely amount to a modern obituary notice.

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MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

PRINCE RUPERT

AND

THE CAVALIERS.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

"I ask nae be ye Whig or Tory,
For Commonwealth, or Right Divine:
Say,—dear to you is England's glory?—
Then, gi'e 's a hand o' thine!"

Old Song.

THE cause of the Cavaliers was once the cause of half the men of England. Fortunately for us, that cause was unsuccessful, yet not altogether lost: shorn by the Parliament's keen sword, of the despotic and false principle that disgraced it,[1] its nobler and better elements survived, imparting firmer strength and a loftier tone to our Constitution.

[1] "Wee stood upon our liberties for the *king's* sake, least he might be the king of meane subjects, or we the subjects of a meane king."—*Sir R. Varney's notes on Hyde's speech.*

Even at this hour, as of old, that cause would rally the flower[1] of England round the throne; not as once they came to the standard of our ill-fated Charles, doubtful and misgiving;[2] but promptly, proudly, earnestly; in all-powerful strength of heart and numbers. For the People would be there; not "they, the People," but "we, the People," of every designation; — peasant as well as peer, Hampdens as well as Falklands, — united in one common cause, the noblest that voice or trumpet ever pleaded.[3]

For, thanks to our gallant forefathers, Cavaliers and Roundheads, there is but one real cause in England now: loyalty and liberty are no longer at variance, since our forefathers dared to bring

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[1] Vicars, the bitterest enemy of the Royalists, says in his *Jehovah Jireh*, "The cream of the country came to meet him there" (at the setting up of the standard).

[2] See anecdotes hereafter of Falkland, Sunderland, Varney, and others.

[3] This is not mere theory, though the strength we speak of lies latent now (because unevoked) by the poor man's well-protected fireside and the noble's well-taxed castle; among the lonely hills and amid the crowded streets: yet even in this, its *passive* state, it has had power to repel invasion and revolution for a hundred and sixty years. Never was faithfulness to the cause of loyalty and order more signally tested than in the year from which we have just emerged, when the trial proved the triumph.

to issue, and set at rest for ever, the question between the sovereign and the subject. Heroic and earnest men strove faithfully, on either side, with tongue and sword, and prayer and blood, for what they deemed to be the truth. Each found, as truthful and earnest men will ever find, however ranged on different sides, that their ultimate object had been the same. Each found, not the conquest that his human nature strove for, but the victory that his higher nature yearned for: yet he found it in defeat. The Cavalier saw much that he had been taught to reverence struck down, buried, and put away for ever in the grave of the Stuarts. The Roundhead beheld his glorious visions of liberty eventuating in fierce anarchy and final despotism, from which he was content to seek refuge even in the Restoration.

There is no period in our history of deeper importance or more thrilling interest than that of our Civil Wars. "It requires," says Mr. Fox, "a detailed examination, for there is none more fertile of matter, whether for reflection or speculation. Between the year 1640 and the death of Charles II., we have the opportunity of contemplating the State in almost every variety of circumstances.

Religious dispute, political contest in all its forms and degrees, from the honest exertions of party and the corrupt intrigues of faction, to violence and civil war; despotism, first in the person of an Usurper, and afterwards in that of an hereditary King; the most memorable and salutary improvements in the laws, the most abandoned administration of them; in fine, whatever can happen to a nation, whether of glorious or calamitous, makes a part of this astonishing and instructive picture."[1]

Nor is the interest inferior to the importance of those momentous times: there is a fearful fascination in the rapid current of their events; we are hurried along, like the actors themselves, so rapidly from scene to scene, that we have only too little time for thought. The finely balanced fortune of each battle-day—the beleaguered town all but surrendered—the blessed treaty almost accomplished; the King and People yearning for rest and reconciliation; now, within a point of attaining it—now, at deadliest issue on some undecided field. Then follow the King's flight, the vain treaty, the mock tribunal, the too real and ghastly scaffold, the reign

[1] History of James II. p. 8.

of the regicidal oligarchy trampled on in turn by their master-tyrant.

And through all these stormy times shines steadily the heroic character of English nature, nobly manifesting its grave and earnest power: terrible and unsparing on the battle-field, self-controlled, and considerate in all intervals of peace: compared with the great German war, generous and gentle as a tournament;[1] yet steadfast in purpose, as behoved its great and glorious end and aim. I do not presume to canvass my reader's sympathies for either Puritan or Cavalier, I leave them to plead their own cause in their own letters:—I invite him to listen to their own long silent voices, speaking once more—eagerly, earnestly—as when armed men with desperate speed bore these, their blotted, and often blood-stained pages,[1] from leaguered city or roving camp—from faltering diplomatist, or resolute warrior, at whose beck men died. Every letter will possess some

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[1] "In the Thirty Years' War, then raging, there were 30,000 villages destroyed, 500,000 men, women, and children put to the sword, whole provinces ravaged to utter desolation."—(*Schiller.*) But,

> "England's war revered the claim
> Of every unprotected name,
> And spared amid its fiercest rage,
> Childhood, and womanhood, and age."—*W. Scott.*

interest for the thoughtful reader, and shed some light for him on the heart of the bygone times. He will find them still animated by the passions that were then throbbing in every breast. At first the earnest, rather than angry, spirit of our memorable English war is apparent in them; but they gradually become more intense in their expression, as if they were the work of a single man; the same note of triumph or tone of despair is perceptible in all. Human nature, and the nature of each writer, is transparent in them all: the reader is the confidant of Kings, Princes, Statesmen, Generals, patriots, traitors; he is the confessor of the noblest minds and the most villainous natures; he sees the very conscience of the war.

The greater part of these letters and this work relates to the Cavaliers, and especially to Prince Rupert.[1] Nevertheless, I am far from assuming the indiscriminate advocacy of their cause, though I have endeavoured to do justice to the gallant men who espoused it. I believe that cause, if at first triumphant, would have led to despotism and in-

[1] Some of these letters were intercepted, and bear dark red stains that shew how faithfully they were defended: one has a bullet-mark right through. Many are inscribed, "Haste, haste, post haste!" and endorsed by the several officers through whose hands they passed.

tolerance; I know that it was stained by rapine and licentiousness; and I dare not suppose that by such agency the higher destinies of this great nation could have been promoted or achieved.

But I also believe that the Cavaliers did good service in their generation, by keeping alive the generous spirit of loyalty, by cherishing the genial charities of life, and maintaining unimpaired the chivalrous character of our country. On the other hand, I do not believe that the King's party monopolized all the chivalry—or the vices either—of the war. If the Puritan cause was adorned with little outward shows or braveries, its source of energy lay deep within, in the souls of men; and there lay also, its support and power. Devoted and desperately daring as was the Cavalier, he had not the same occasion for moral courage as the Puritan; his cause was that of his 'anointed King,' at the same time graced and guarded by ancestral predilection and long established reverence. The Puritan entered on the strife, not only against his sovereign, but against those ancient prejudices of world-wide respectability which to *him* also had once been dear and reverend; he left the firm and simple ground of allegiance to struggle dangerously after what was then a mere abstraction. The Cavalier, fired with

visions of kingly power and courtly fame, as he dashed all plumed and scarfed through fields of blood, had nothing but the fortune of the day to fear. The Puritan, dark and grim, stood stoutly to his arms as one who knew that freedom or the scaffold were his only alternative.

I speak of the two great Parties at the period of the "setting up of the Standard;" when Hampden, Rudyard, and such like, ruled the passions of the popular party to noble ends, controlled their selfishness and shamed their hypocrisy. As the war proceeded, the balance of integrity seems greatly to have changed: gradually, the Royal cause, by suffering and trial, and yielding of its assumptions, became purified, ennobled, and more constitutional;[1] gradually, by the exercise of

[1] I shall here offer to the reader the testimony of their most eloquent enemy *in favour* of the Cavaliers: "The sentiment of individual independence was strong within them: they were indeed, misled, but by no base or selfish motive. Compassion and romantic honour, the prejudices of childhood, and the venerable names of history, threw a spell over them potent as that of Duessa. . . . . It was not for a treacherous King or an intolerant Church that they fought, but for the old banner that had waved over the heads of their fathers, and for the altars at which they had received the hands of their brides. With many of the vices of the Round Table they had also many of its virtues,—courtesy, generosity, veracity, tenderness and respect for women. They had also far more of profound and polite learning than the

wealth and power and arrogance, the Parliamentary cause degenerated into faction, its patriotism into party. At first the noble spirits of the opposing party had many sympathies in common. When Hampden adopted one side, and Falkland the other, when Essex feared to conquer, and Sunderland trembled at the King's success, how saving and temperate a compromise might have been effected, "soiled by no patriot's blood, no widow's,

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Puritans; their manners were more engaging, their tempers more amiable, their tastes more elegant, and their households more cheerful."—*Essays of Macaulay*, vol. i. p. 540.

Thus also speaks Sir James Mackintosh:—"The Cavaliers were zealous for monarchy, and condemned in theory all resistance. Yet they had sturdy English hearts, which would never have endured real despotism."—*Mackintosh's England*, 246.

Hear also what Mr. Macaulay says of the Puritans, of what he calls "the second generation," that which he considers the *right* one: "Major-generals fleecing their districts,—soldiers revelling on the spoils of a ruined peasantry,—upstarts, enriched by the public plunder, taking possession of the hospitable firesides and hereditary trees of the old gentry,—boys smashing the beautiful windows of cathedrals,—Fifth-Monarchy men shouting for King Jesus,—Quakers riding naked through the market-place,—agitators lecturing from tubs on the fate of Agag. . . . . In spite of their hatred of popery, they often fell into the worst vices of that bad system—intolerance and extravagant austerity; they had their anchorites and their crusades, their Dominics and their Escobars," &c. To do Mr. Macaulay justice, he finely adds, "Be it so! it is the nature of the devil of tyranny to rend and tear the body that it leaves;" and so proceeds to plead, with his accustomed power, in favour of those whom his witnesses have forced him to arraign.—*Essays*, i. 39.

orphan's tear;" how just an interpretation of the true meaning of our constitutional laws might have been secured! "But the last hope of a victory as spotless as the cause was buried in the grave of Hampden;" the stronghold of despotism was gallantly stormed and taken by assault, but then the conquerors broke loose into licence and rapine and "self-seeking;" turning their glory into shame. Popular violence uprooted the ancient fabric of the Constitution, levelling all that wise and heroic men had laboured for ages to erect, and consummated their destructive labours by reducing themselves to that state of simple servility which their fathers, six centuries before, had scarcely borne to endure.[1] But the instinct of liberty is more irrepressible than its forms; the people soon discovered that they had made a capital mistake; they had allowed a man to set himself above the law.[2] The mere shows of outraged parliaments could not long

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[1] "From so complete and well concerted a scheme of servility [as that of William the Conqueror] it has been the work of generations for our ancestors to redeem themselves and their posterity into that state of freedom we now enjoy."—*Blackstone*, iv. 432.

[2] Rousseau, himself the apostle or, at least, the forerunner of revolution, thus speaks: "It is the antiquity of laws that renders them sacred and venerable: the people soon despise those they see changing every day. The great problem in politics is to find a form of government which shall place the Law above the Man."

disguise the humbling fact, that Cromwell was the only power in England! His timely death spared him and his country the consequences of the discovery; but his son was contemptuously set aside, and monarchy was restored to its old and honoured place in the Constitution, as unexpectedly as it had been banished thence.

How Charles the Second affronted God and man by his vices and his follies,—how he mocked the enthusiastic hope, the generous trust, of his insulted people,—how the Cavaliers of the Court, too generally, followed this King in corruption and effeminate luxury, as they had followed his brave father in warlike trials and privation: all this falls less within the scope of my undertaking, but has also been noticed as candidly and as briefly as was in my power.

I have given to Prince Rupert the most prominent place in the following work: the letters which constitute its chief value were written by, or addressed to him; his character forms the best type of the Cavaliers,[1] of whom he was the "chief,"[2] the

[1] I speak here of the Cavalier soldier as distinct from the Royalist patriots and statesmen, who in the bitter alternative adopted the King's cause as being, in their judgment, the most conducive to, or least subversive of, the liberties of their country.

[2] King's Collection, 83, 4. Sir P. Warwick's "Memoirs."

"leader,"[1] and the "life;"[2] and, moreover, the papers which I have the responsibility of editing enable me to present to the public the only complete biography of this extraordinary man that has yet appeared.

I have some hope that these volumes may help to vindicate Prince Rupert's character. There is no personage in history at the same time so notorious and so little known, for his true memory lies hidden under the calumnious cloud of Puritan hatred and Royalist envy and disparagement. He was bravest among the brave; honest among knaves; reproached as pure by profligates; philosophical among triflers; modest among boasters; generous in his lifetime, and poor at the period of his death.

The first years of his career are unconnected with the principal matter of this work—the Civil War. This portion, therefore, will require a chapter to itself; I shall then venture to offer a summary of the very debatable matters anterior and conducive to the setting up the Royal Standard. Thenceforward, the history of Prince Rupert be-

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[1] Whitelocke and others.

[2] May: *causes*, &c., Maseres' Tracts.

comes merged in that of the war, until the cause for which he fought was utterly lost. During the Commonwealth we follow the Royal Wanderer to the Mediterranean Sea, the Spanish Main, and the Courts of France and Austria: on the Restoration we return him to England once more, —to associate his name with our naval glories, to consider him in the character of an artist, a philosopher, and a statesman; and finally, to lay him in an English grave, the object of his young ambition.

It seems to me, that we read or write of our great Civil Wars to little purpose, if we look upon them and their actors as mere abstractions; as relating only to distant times and other beings than ourselves. When the rude German peasant gazes on the Spectre of the Brocken wielding vast arms, taking giant strides, and looming over the horizon like the creature of another world, he believes it to be supernatural: the philosopher knows that the awful spectre is but an image of himself, exaggerated and distorted by distance and the stormy mist. Even so, we must remember that in the terrible scenes of these old times, we see but

ourselves in different circumstances; we behold Englishmen as they have been and may be again. While the revolutionary element is raging round us now;[1] on the sunny plains of Italy, and the gloomy hills of stricken Ireland,—in the glittering streets of Paris, and among the anomalous tribes of Germany, we only owe our own comparative immunity, under God, to former revolutions, as the Indian of the prairie escapes its conflagrations by destroying the fuel that it feeds on. There remains little for revolution to do among us now; at least as far as the constitutional elements, and the more prosperous classes of the community are concerned. But it behoves these last to look well that there be still less need, or even thought, of such terrible remedies. Ominous sounds issue ever and anon from the helpless peasant and the hopeless artisan; ignorance and its incalculable evils breed misery, misery discontent, and discontent spawns dema-

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[1] Rousseau, in evoking that revolutionary spirit which his voice seemed to call into existence, only "collected the lightning from an atmosphere charged with electrical matter." — *Lord John Russell.* The difference between French and English views of revolution, is illustrated in the following contrast: it was said that "Happy was the man who died at the commencement of the French Revolution; he died with visions of glory in his mind!" Very different were the visions of our Hampden and Falkland, who died oppressed with dismal anxieties and forebodings.

gogues. The masses must and will be led; and if their natural leaders neglect them, they will follow hirelings. It is no longer the vocation of men powerful by intellect, or birth, or wealth, to lead armed bands to war; but it is their higher duty to teach and to illustrate the blessings of tranquillity; to enable their poorer brethren to appreciate and to enjoy them. Peace should not be a mere negation:[1] while we were under the curse of war we strove with devoted energy to prosecute its deadly aims; while we are blessed by peace shall we be more remiss in doing the will of heaven than of yore in serving hell?—Every man who has improved the condition of his fellow-men by one wise word or generous deed, has served his country well. Every landlord who has made his tenantry his friends, and has taught them the dignity of labour, the omnipotence of energy and industry; every manufacturer who has diffused health and happiness amongst his pale and crowded artisans; he who has taught the poor man to look up, or has

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[1] As philosophy, in a somewhat different sense, asserts it to be: "Peace," says Schlegel, "that immutable object of high political art, appears to be *nothing else than a war kept under* by human dexterity, for some secret disease is ever at hand to call it into existence.—*Philosophy of History.*

created a new field for honest, hopeful labour: each of these men has performed a nobler part than mere Cavalier or Roundhead could ever have accomplished; and each may share in the noble epitaph of Hampden, — "Peace to his ashes! he has served mankind."

CHAPTER II.

PRINCE RUPERT'S YOUTH.

THE PALATINE FAMILY. — HIS FATHER'S MARRIAGE, AND ACCESSION TO THE CROWN OF BOHEMIA. — PRINCE RUPERT'S BIRTH, AND ESCAPE AT THE BATTLE OF PRAGUE. — HIS BOYHOOD. — FIRST CAMPAIGN. — VISIT TO ENGLAND. — BATTLE OF FLOTA. — PRISONER AT LINTZ. — LOVE. — LIBERTY. — EMPEROR'S COURT AT VIENNA. — JOINS CHARLES THE FIRST AT NOTTINGHAM. — SETTING UP THE STANDARD.

"Tell me, ye skilful men, if ye have read,
In all the faire memorialls of the dead,
A name so formidably great,
So full of wonder and unenvied love;
In which all vertues and all graces strove,
So terrible and yet so sweete?
Rebellious Britains after felt full well
Thou from thy cradell wert a miracle:
Swaddled in armour, drums appeased thy cries,
And the shrill trumpet sung thy lullabies? . . . .
Nor could the tempests in the giddy state,
O mightie Prince! thy loyalty abate:
Though put to flight, thou foughtedst the Parthian way,
And still the same appeared to be,
A behemoth on land, and a leviathan at sea.
Still wert thou brave, still wert thou good,
Still firm to thine allegiance stood
Amid all foamings of the popular flood."

Pindaric Ode on Prince Rupert's Death, 4th Edit. Lond. 1686.

THERE is a loud fame of Prince Rupert in our civil wars, yet singularly little of his private history is known. He seems to start into existence when the royal standard of England is set up; he advances that fatal banner through its terrible career

with supernatural but ill-starred bravery; and when it is finally struck down at Naseby, he vanishes at the same time from our view. Yet even during that memorable strife, there is a rumour, rather than a knowledge of him;[1] mothers hush their infants with the terror of his name,[2] leaguering armies retire at the first challenge of his trumpets,[3] the stern energy of the Puritan gives way before his resistless charge; Roundhead hatred and Royalist recrimination accuse him as the evil genius of the war. Yet, whence he came, or whither he went, few have inquired or can tell.[4]

The few glimpses by which he is afterwards viewed are equally singular and varied. We find him a veteran in arms and renown while yet a boy;[5] a prisoner for years before he attains to manhood;[6]

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[1] Prince Rupert affords a striking exemplification of the power of temporary prejudice over lasting renown. Tradition is a poor reliance for heroes,

"When flattery sleeps with them, and history does them wrong."

Had our Prince won the favour of Lord Clarendon, he would have come down to posterity in high heroic colouring. As it is, the great historian does not give him a place, even in anger, amongst his inimitable portraits: he leaves all relating to him to oblivion, except his real errors and his imputed crimes; these he vengefully bids live for ever.

[2] It was even said by the Puritans that the Cavaliers *ate* them.

[3] See at the siege, or leaguer as it was called, of York and elsewhere.—*Clar. Reb.* vol. iv. p. 508, and others.

[4] There is a meagre summary of facts relating to his later life in a duodecimo volume published in 1683; and this is the only attempt at his biography that exists, except such sketches as I have enumerated in the introduction.

[5] Page 48. [6] Page 97.

leader of the Cavaliers from the first hour that he meets them;[1] conqueror in every battle, though defeated;[2] maintaining the war on the sea when it has been crushed upon the land;[3] buccaneering in the name of loyalty on the Spanish main;[4] honest amid corruption, philosophic among triflers in the Court of the Restoration;[5] laying aside his impetuosity, but not his gallantry, as admiral of our fleets;[6] returning thence to the chemist's laboratory and the painter's study;[7] and, finally, dying in peace and honour, here in old England, "beloved by all the gentlemen of the county,"[8] and "generally lamented; having maintained such good temper and such happy neutrality in the present unhappy divisions,[9] that he was honoured and respected by men of the most varying interests."[10]

Can this be the person whom we have hitherto known, only to neglect or to condemn? Surely there must have been some heroic nature in this man which prejudice alone has darkened or denied: some prejudice more fatal to his fame than the

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[1] "History of the Heroicall Prince Rupert." 1683.

[2] At Edgehill, Newbury, Marston Moor, Naseby—he won *his* part of the battle.

[3] Clarendon, "State Papers;" Carte's "Ormond."

[4] Volume iii. of this work.

[5] Campbell's "Admirals;" Evelyn's "Miscellany," 318.

[6] Campbell's "Admirals;" Guizot's "Life of Monk," 306.

[7] Walpole's "Lives of Painters," &c.

[8] Campbell's "Admirals."

[9] Between James and his Protestant subjects.

[10] Echard, "History of England," vol. ii. p. 1023. I have only quoted here from *printed* authorities, and recapitulated but a few of the events of Prince Rupert's life.

hatred or the obloquy of his cotemporaries. Let the generous and candid reader but take *the facts* of Prince Rupert's life as they are here imperfectly arranged; let him grant to them such credence as their authorities may seem to deserve and such interest as their romantic character may claim; and surely he will admit that the chief of the Cavaliers deserves a higher place in story than he has hitherto obtained.

Our narrative must needs be discursive in following so varied a career: especially in those earlier scenes through which the stream of our young hero's life flows fitfully along, sparkling in the sunshine of a Court, or stagnating in a prison's gloom, now reposing softly in the laurel's or the myrtle's shade, then dashing headlong into danger and distraction. When the narrow rivulet of biography joins its innumerable kindred streams that form the ocean of history,[1] it becomes expanded instead of being lost. Not only, however, does the current of our story tend to history, but we must trace its origin therefrom. A glance at the state of Europe and the Thirty Years' War, seems necessary to understand the conditions of that fatal royalty to which our Prince was born, and which so much qualified his after life. Nor was this war without its influences upon our own, insulated and strictly intestine as the latter may appear to be. Not only from Frankfort and Geneva,

[1] "History is the essence of innumerable biographies."—*Coleridge.*

but from Prague and Lutzen, came those wars and warriors upon England, in whose Parliaments were to be defined, in whose fields were to be fairly fought, the great question for which Germany then vaguely yearned and blindly strove.

Temporal as well as spiritual despotism had received a death-blow at the Reformation. Men's freedom, next holiest object to their faith, went hand in hand with all its triumph, and became blended with all its interests. The holy Roman Empire was first to suffer from the newly awakened intelligence. The Protestant Princes[1] of the North had formed a Union in defence of their privileges, and at length even the remote Bohemian States began to discuss certain grievances, and to assert certain elective rights very distasteful to their Emperor.

That Emperor was Ferdinand of Gratz: his education had been the triumphant achievement of the Jesuits, and never had they found an instrument so useful to their cause, so worthy of their care: they schooled him in a bloodhound discipline, ruthless, untiring, never to be baffled or turned

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[1] These were, Frederic Elector Palatine (with acknowledged precedence amongst them on account of his rank at their tyrant's court), John George Duke of Saxony, Christian Duke of Brunswick, the Dukes of Wirtemberg and Mecklenburg Holstein, the Margravines of Brandenberg and Anspach.

aside from his pursuit: they filled him with sublety and stratagems, and a calm dispassionate vindictiveness that never was precipitate and never paused. Moreover, he was chaste, temperate, and economical, and by the power of these virtues and these vices, he waged war on his own subjects for thirty years, and offered up a holocaust of thirty thousand flaming villages in honour of the Popedom[1] and the Empire. When this Emperor first assumed the Bohemian, amongst other, crowns, he had few forces to support his power: standing armies were then unknown, and the terrible bands that afterwards ravaged Germany were not yet enlisted. Emboldened by this weakness, and strengthened by a fair cause of quarrel, the States of Bohemia asserted their independent elective rights, and rejected the Emperor as their king: then, following up their movëments with a rapidity worthy of modern Parisian tactics, they listened but for a moment to the imperial commissioners, flung them out of a window,[2] formed a provisional government under the gallant Schlik and Thurm, raised an army, rushed forth to Vienna, seized Ferdinand in his palace, and forced a pen into his

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[1] *Schiller.* Popedom not the Pope: Urban VIII. was called "Lutherano" by the Spaniards because he looked coldly on Ferdinand's policy, and reproached him with troubling the peace of Italy.—*Howell.*

[2] It seems this was a time-honoured mode of proceeding against unpopular orators among this people, of whom we shall find some other singular traits.—*Passages from History*, London, 1848.

hand to sign his cession of their crown! Just then, while the rude chiefs pressed round, like our old barons, to witness the instrument of their freedom,[3] a shout was heard, and they fell back; a trumpet rang through the old streets, and the tramp of troops approaching; panic seized the Bohemians, and they fled, postponing the inevitable fight for freedom until that handful of imperial allies had swelled into an army. Returning to their own country, however, they found themselves secure for the moment, and tried to persuade themselves that they were free: Ferdinand meanwhile being content to bide his time, till the first fervour of novel liberty had cooled down.

For some time the national enthusiasm blazed high, and carried all before it: the summons to arms is always well obeyed at first; the young kingdom was even contented to be taxed, and then, all they wanted was a king. This want was not so easy to supply: never was there a meaner monarchy in Europe[1] and the monarch material, so to speak, was equally unpromising.

The Protestant Princes of the Union were, for

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[3] It is strange how much rough men of swords think of the mystery of writing, and allow to be verified that "*anser, apis, vitulus, regna gubernant.*" [Quill, wax, and parchment.]

[1] Louis XIII. in France, Philip III. in Spain, James I. in England, Christian IV. in Denmark, Sigismund in Poland. Well might Holland be proud of its republicanism, nominal as it was; (for pensionary, stadtholder, president, are merely vulgar substitutes for kings; wanting, indeed, in graceful and reverent association, but atoning by greater power in emergency.)

the most part, sensual, dissolute, and unprincipled; those of the Catholic League were little better as to morals, and entirely exceptionable from their religion. The Bohemians first offered their crown to the drunken Duke of Saxony, who refused it, and then they fixed upon Frederic, Prince Palatine of the Rhine.[1] The illustrious descent of this Elector, his great possessions, his position as head of the Protestant Union, and his rank in the Empire,[2] rendered him the first Prince among the uncrowned heads of Europe. He was exemplary and beloved in his own dominions; he had an amiable address, was by no means devoid of spirit, and abounded in the right noble quality of generosity. He had even some sound sense, as was proved by his long hesitation before he relinquished the very solid substance of his Electorate for the very shadowy crown of a crude kingdom. The circumstances that had influenced the votes of the Bohemian Diet in his favour, were well known by him: he understood their value too well to feel the same confidence that they inspired in his constituents. He was son-in-law to the King of Great Britain, but he

[1] From the *Palatia*, or palaces, that the old German and Frankish kings possessed in various parts of their dominions. The seneschals of these palatine districts were, in effect, viceroys; they were called Pfalzgraves. Palsgrave of the Rhine was first used as a title of dignity A. D. 1093.

[2] He was "Electour and Archsewer of the Sacred Roman Empire, Vicour of the Empire, and Elector-Palatine of the Upper and Lower Rhine."—*Land. MS.*

knew too well the dastardly and bigoted nature of James, to believe that he would ever draw the sword in his behalf, against the "divine right" of a brother monarch, and an ally of mighty Spain! He was head of the Calvinist party, and leader of the Protestant Union, but he knew that sectarian dissent and political jealousies had paralyzed all the energies of that body; and, finally, though the Bohemians relied much on his relationship to the Duke of Bavaria, *he* knew well that his Catholic cousin was his most grasping foe. Nevertheless, there was temptation in this offer of a kingdom that wiser men than Frederic might have yielded to: it was the age of enterprise and daring; the popular energies awakened by the Reformation rendered all things possible to those who could control and lead them; a brave and intelligent people had appealed to his highest feelings to champion their faith and freedom; a great cause creates magnanimity, however temporary, in him to whom it is entrusted: he felt all this, and more perhaps than all this, he felt the influence of a young and beautiful wife, whose loftier mind confirmed his own faltering ambition.[1]

[1] The *advice* of Elizabeth was a taunt. "You were bold enough," said the Electress, "to marry the daughter of a king, and you hesitate to accept a crown! I had rather live on bread with a king than feast with an elector."—*Schiller, Thirty Years' War*, i. 131. Schiller quotes from Larrey: see for the original of the anecdote Howell's "Letter," p. 83, from which it seems that Miss Benger's view of Elizabeth's character is not contradicted. Nevertheless, it is evident that she had influenced the

He accepted the fatal gift of the kingdom of Bohemia[1] and was crowned at Prague,[2] with all the magnificence that an enthusiastic people could furnish to the King whom they delighted to honour. As an actor in this pageant he acquitted himself, for the last time, to the perfect satisfaction of his subjects. The ceremony was striking, and, as picturing the times and scenes of our hero's birth,[3] we may be allowed to glance at its celebration.

The city itself is one of the most beautiful in the world, uniting the grandeur and massiveness of Gothic architecture with its widest contrast, that of the East: the colossal masses of the old palaces are separated by fantastic bazaars, or rich gardens; and, over the humbler dwellings, towers and battlements, and venerable spires, rise among forest-trees, and are reflected in the broad and placid waters of the Moldau. The antique and varied character of the architecture suited well with the costumes of various times and climes that thronged its ancient streets. Armour was then in general use, and glittered there beneath many a plume and scarf; gold

king, for she reproaches herself (Bromley's "Royal Letters") bitterly as the cause of his misfortunes.

[1] The day after he had sent to James I. for his advice, a precipitancy which the king vindictively remembered and reproached him with.

[2] November 3, 1619.

[3] We learn from a letter of his promising and early lost brother Prince Henry's, that the first sentence Prince Rupert uttered was in the Bohemian language. It was "Praise the Lord!" His mother fondly dwelt on the omen, which, had he fought on the Puritan's side, would have been doubtless taken as an early sign of grace.—*See* Sir Thomas Roe's letters and negotiations.

and steel shone and flashed over the chivalry of Prague, mingled and contrasted with the peaceful guise of citizens making pomp after their fashion likewise, with banners, and silks, and velvets, and rich furs. From the old Bohemian forests came the Bourgraves[1] and their vassals, armed with old weapons that had clashed at the summons of Zitzca's drum. From Transylvania appeared, in semi-oriental garb, the rude nobles of Bethlem Gabor's Court, with the formal looking ambassadors of nine friendly States (amongst whom no representatives of England, Saxony, or Denmark, however, were to be found). The humbler citizens thronged with the rest, various in attire, in races, and in creed, but uniform in enthusiastic loyalty. The drum and tabor mingled their wild music with such strange concord as the clashing of pewter cups and platters made, for this too was a national music, used by the ancient Bohemians to express their joy.

Such were the scenes and the people that celebrated Prince Rupert's birth soon afterwards, as now his father's coronation. Amid this motley multitude, under a canopy of blue and silver, was borne the fair and fascinating Elizabeth, their Queen and "Queen of hearts." Beside her rode the King, sheathed in armour, and starred with orders, but with his head uncovered; and so they passed to the old church of Faith.[2]

This edifice was well adapted for the present

[1] Title of the old national nobility of Bohemia. [2] St. Weit.

ceremony, for all the various creeds and races that were gathered there could find their familiar symbols on its pantheistic walls: Pagan, Romish, Hussite, Lutheran, and Calvinist rites had been there performed, and each had left some character behind it. Abraham Scultetus, the King's bigoted chaplain and impolitic adviser, looked upon these innocent reliques with horror; they seemed to him instinct with demoniac life, and striving to proselytize, each to his own abomination.[1] Still more scandalized was the Puritanical divine when his pupil was led to an actual altar by the Hussite "administrator," and even consecrated with the holy oil! His interference, however, was unnoticed, as the barons of Bohemia pressed forward, with loud zeal and clanking armour, to swear fealty to the King. But first, that King swore fealty to the laws, and then received the pledges he had given. Then a hundred banners waved through the old cathedral, and peal after peal of artillery announced that the monarchical experiment was begun.

Three days later the same ceremonies were repeated, when the crown of St. Isabella[2] was placed on the fair brows of Elizabeth of England.

This heroic lady was well fitted by nature for her

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[1] If Charles I. could only have changed Laud for Scultetus, both he and his brother-in-law had been better suited for their times; as regarded their influence on their royal masters, misplaced as they were, they were equally fanatical, intemperate, and fatal.

[2] An ancient and canonized queen of Bohemia.—*Benger.*

proud and perilous place as Queen of the Protestant champions in Europe. She had all the grace, magnanimity, and virtue, in which her royal parents were so deficient; she had been educated far from their contaminated Court, by a conscientious and high-minded nobleman,[1] and there, in the heart of England, she grew up in purity and honour, and the affections of her country-people, who ever love to have some public pet, and are seldom mistaken in their choice. Their present favourite was brave, generous, and warm-hearted, and supposed to incline towards the Puritan party, who were even then waxing strong in Parliament. Certainly she was very strongly attached to the religion that they held so dear; and when, by a rare felicity in royal life, she was married to the husband of her choice,[2] he was welcomed by the parliament and the people with greater enthusiasm as the head of the Pro-

[1] Lord Harrington was her governor: she passed her childhood at his house, Combe Abbey, near Coventry. Her chivalrous defender, the first Earl of Craven, purchased the place that to him had been so consecrated: he had the pride of welcoming her there in after years, and his descendants have had the good taste to leave it almost unaltered ever since; it is therefore full of interest, independently of the fine historical pictures it contains.

[2] The Princess Elizabeth was married to the Elector Palatine on the 14th February, 1613. The wedding was celebrated in Whitehall Chapel (long since burnt down). "The princess was dressed in pure white, with a crown of gold upon her hanging hair." The bride was led to church by two bachelors, the Prince Charles and Lord Northampton; she was led from church by two married men, the Duke of Lenox and Lord Nottingham. The celebration of the nuptials was characterized by James's usual extravagancy, coarseness, and bad taste. It cost the sum of 95,000*l.*, while the bride's dowry amounted but to 40,000*l.*

testant Union, than if he had worn the proudest crown in Christendom. In all their misfortunes, the Palatines were followed by the prayers and ardent good wishes of England. The people did all that a people repressed by their sovereign *could* do: they raised subscriptions; they furnished arms; they sent volunteers; when the drums beat for Palatinate levies they rushed to the standard as if it had been their own. The King of England was the only enemy his daughter had in his dominions; the only man who would not make one effort to support or to retrieve her cause, except by imbecile diplomacy and dastardly advice.[1]

But the commencement of Elizabeth's career was threatened by no cloud of its future sorrow; "the Pearl of Britain," as she was fondly called by her new subjects, was soon beloved at Heidelberg as she had been in her own country. There, in her prosperous and loyal Palatinate, with a gentle and affectionate husband, she seems to have been happy; her little Court was even then a favourite resort of the chivalrous adventurers who wandered errant over Europe; and men of letters, whom Courts in those times favoured, also sought her patronage, and repaid it with renown. If her misfortunes, sorrows, and self-reproach afterwards imparted a higher tone to her character, it gave her no addi-

[1] King James advised Frederic to yield in everything to the Emperor, to endeavour to lay claim to the pity of his "outraged sovereign."

tional claim to her proud title, "the Queen of Hearts:" in that wayward realm she had no competitor, nor even a traitor to her honour.

And when the fatal crown was offered to her young Elector, who can blame her if she desired to embrace the high destinies to which it might have led an abler man? Her princely heart might well indulge in visions of triumph for her faith, and of glory for her family; and, in the country of Maria Theresa, who will say such hopes could only have been visionary?

Elizabeth was crowned, as we have seen, Queen of Bohemia, on the 6th of Nov. 1619; she soon afterwards gave birth to her third son, who thus inherited the doubtful advantage of royal birth.[1]

"The Prince who we are now entering upon," says one of his cotemporary biographers, "hath acquired for himself soe much glorye that one would not thinke it necessary to make mention of his birth: such heroes as hee having honour enough in the world without borrowing it from others, and give more lustre to their race than they receave from it, being alwaies greater by their proper vertues than by that of their ancestors. Yet the glorye of their predecessours will still augment their own; for the world is still more disposed to honour merit

[1] His biographer in the Lans. MS. (817, fol. 157) declares pompously, that "he receaved from Nature a soule too noble to bee borne of any less than a queene! She was the Princes in the world whose blood was ye noblest, and she perfected the glory of ye Palatines when she marry'd ye Prince Electour."

when noblenesse of blood is joined to it." The public of our day will scarcely sympathize with the public which this old writer wrote to move: nevertheless, it is true that Prince Rupert's race was illustrious as herald could desire, combining the blood-royal of England with the blood-imperial of the house of Hapsburg.[1]

It was on the 18th of December, 1619, that he came into the world, the first personage of his rank who had thus honoured Prague for above a century. The good people of Bohemia were joyful accordingly. All citizens, without distinction, were freely admitted to the palace to behold their indigenous prince, to offer good wishes, great prophecies, and other more substantial gifts. Soon afterwards there were further festivities and pageants on the event of his christening, when Bethlem Gabor was his godfather. This ingenious and daring savage was selected as sponsor in the hope of conciliating his capricious but important alliance; seeing that

[1] Those who are interested in such matters may consult this wondrous genealogy at length in the Harl. Miscellany, and Lans. MS., as given in the Appendix at the end of this work. For our present purpose the following stepping-stones will be more than sufficient. ATTILA..... CHARLEMAGNE..... OTHO of Wittelspach. .... RUPERT "the Little" (who "burnt 40 damnable persons for spoyling the country," an example thrown away upon his descendant)..... RUPERT, Emperor, A. D. 1406..... LOUIS VII., Elector-Palatine (persecuted the Calvinists)..... FREDERIC IV. (persecuted the Lutherans)..... FREDERIC V. (forsaken and betrayed by both), King of Bohemia. The genealogist having concluded his task, enthusiastically deduces therefrom that "Prince Rupert begann to bee illustrious before he was born. We must look back into history 2000 yeares to discover the first rayes of his glorye!"

he was already despotic in Transylvania, and had almost secured for himself the kingdom of Hungary. His representative, Count Thurtzo, in complete armour, received the child from the archbourgravine, and transferred it from his mail-clad arms to the gauntleted hands of the deputies of Lusatia, Moravia, and Silesia: such martial dandling suited well with the future fortunes of the child. He was named Rupert, in injudicious memory of his ancestor, who had succeeded to the empire;[1] and he was at the same time declared by the States as their future Grand Duke of Lithuania.[2]

So long as the pageants and festivals, the crownings and the christenings, of the new sovereigns amused the people, their loyalty was equal to their gratification. But the holidays were now over, the working-time was come, and there was no trifling task to be performed. A threatening future hovered over the young kingdom, and required other heads and hands than those of Frederic and his advisers to avert the danger. The Emperor of Austria was stirred by every motive of interest, intolerance, and pride, to revenge himself upon the revolted States: his armies were now powerful; his wealth incalculable. The King

[1] This was not the only instance in which the weak Frederic had allowed his rebellious aspirations to transpire.

[2] The assembled States had even determined to choose him successor to their crown in preference to his brothers, when the wishes of Frederic prevailed by one voice. It may interest some to learn that part of Rupert's christening dress is to be seen at Ipswich.

of Bohemia had neither an army nor an income, nor had his infant monarchy the *prestige* of ancestral and accustomed power to rely upon. Troops, indeed, or mere masses of armed men, were promptly furnished by a people to whom war was pastime, but the first attempt to levy taxes had well-nigh ended the new dynasty.[1] At the same time, the Bohemians discovered that their sovereign was far from orthodox, according to the doctrines cherished as infallible at Prague, and illustrated by certain images that the Court looked upon as little better than idols! Abraham Scultetus, the King's spiritual director, made a fierce onslaught against the national form of faith, and especially against a certain relic of antiquity, that was looked upon by the city as a species of Palladium. This was a very ancient image that stood upon the bridge where all passed by, and reverenced an object that had seen service under Pagan, Popish, and Hussite priests. This venerable image, with many of its sculptured brethren, was demolished one night by Scultetus and his fanatical friends. The people were indignant,

[1] The sensitiveness of nations to taxation reminds one of the solemn adjuration, "Spare all I have, but take my life!" Bohemia preferred the return of outraged tyranny to being taxed; the Netherlands saw their bravest champions slain, their citizens destroyed, their women dishonoured by the Spaniards. They bore all this. But when their tyrants attempted to levy a tax of 2s. in the pound they rose indignant and asserted their freedom. Under our own awful Henry VIII. and haughty Elizabeth taxation alone reminded the people they had power.

they associated the King with the acts of those whom he protected: the Roman Catholics took an opportunity to recall the persecuting doctrines of the Calvinists at Dort: and the Lutheran ministers began to allude to anti-christ, at all times a dangerous personage in times of popular excitement. The Bohemian nobles remonstrated with Frederic; he turned to his queen for counsel, and she, with a woman's bravery and impulse, espoused the weaker side: Scultetus was supported. Thus, the young King, like his unhappy kinsman of England, irritated his subjects by intolerance, as Charles had vexed the Scots when most he required their assistance; entered on a war without an army, strove to levy and support it without pay, and withdrew his confidence from his constitutional advisers to bestow it on a woman and a priest—*his* Henrietta and his Laud.

But it was not the fate of Frederic to fall by means of the fanatic or tax-gatherer, his gigantic enemy of Austria was approaching:[1] his base Protestant allies were dispersed by a courtier's intrigue; France was bribed by the same infamous

[1] The intrigue that led the short-sighted and worthless Princes of the Union to desert the weak champion of the cause of freedom, may be told in a few words. The Duke de Luynes was the all powerful favourite of Louis XIII.; his brother desired the fortune of Mademoiselle de Pecguigny, a wealthy ward of the Archduchess at Brussels: the latter consented that he should marry her provided De Luynes could divert France from the policy of Henry IV. *i. e.* from weakening the power of Austria. De Luynes gets up a war between the Hugonots and Roman

means; James of England disowned a cause that he looked upon as flat rebellion; even Bethlem Gabor had been beguiled into neutrality by the blandishments of the Duc d'Angoulême; Spinola had over-run and paralyzed the Palatinate. The King of Bohemia was left alone: he had nothing left to lean upon but the loyalty of his new kingdom —a slender reed, already broken by jealousy, dissent, and treachery.

The White Mountain is close to the city of Prague, only separated by the royal park and palace gardens from the walls; during the brief days of rejoicing, the young King and Queen had followed many a chase, and held many a gay revel on that Weissenberg. It was now dark with the Imperial armies: Maximilian and Marshal Bucquoy were there with the Bavarian and Austrian forces, veterans in war, ruthless, flushed with triumph, and unpardoning.

We shall not dwell on the battle of the White Mountain;[1] we have enough and to spare of battles

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Catholics in France, the religious jealousy of Louis XIII., inflamed by Cardinal Bentivoglio, took alarm; he sent an embassy to the confederate Protestant princes conjuring them to abandon the war against the Emperor and thus spare the effusion of Christian blood! They seized the cowardly false plea and vanished!

[1] Better known as the Battle of Prague: it was fought on the 19th of November, 1620. Its confused and contradictory details may be found in Schiller's "Thirty Years' War;" and, more prettily given, by Miss Benger, in her "Life of the Queen of Bohemia." She tries, but fails, to make a better case for Frederic: he was not, where he ought to have been, among the conquerors or the dead.

in our coming pages: suffice it here to say, that the hour of trial revived the old Bohemian courage, and four thousand men died as becomes those who fight for freedom. Their leaders—not they—were conquered; treachery and incapacity[1] lost Prague. Her few men of worth who survived died upon the scaffold; the people's brief liberties perished with them.[2]

And their loved and lovely queen,—the queen of many a heart now stilled for ever in her cause—her reign is over! Her lofty spirit had led Frederic into danger; it now sustained him in defeat. Prostrated by his ruin, he was only roused to the exertion of escaping by the energy of Elizabeth; and it was full time. The stern Maximilian was at the gates, and allowed the city but eight hours to frame such terms of capitulation as might save it from the horrors of assault. Before then, or never, the young Queen must be far away over the rugged mountain passes through the wintry snow. Nor did she hesitate; delicately nurtured as she was, and within a few weeks of her confinement, the brave Englishwoman preferred any fate to that of captivity and disgrace. One moment her voice faltered,

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[1] Prince Anhalt and Count Hohenloe commanded for Frederic, who often deplored his ignorance of war, and probably instructed Rupert accordingly. Gallant defenders of their country or their queen were not wanting: the chivalrous Prince Christian, "*für Gott und ihr*," Ensign Hopton on his own account, and Counts Thurm and Schlik for Bohemia, fought gallantly.

[2] See "The Rainbow of Prague," in "Passages from History." Longman, 1848.

as her devoted followers offered to set the enemy at defiance, and defend the city to the death, to cover her retreat. "Never!" she exclaimed, to Bernard Count Thurm, "never shall the son of our best friend hazard his life to spare my fears,—never shall this devoted city be exposed to more outrageous treatment for my sake. Rather let me perish on the spot than be remembered as a curse!"[1]

The carriage that was to convey the royal fugitives stood ready for their flight, when, a sudden alarm being given, they were hurried away by their servants, and borne off among the crowd with desperate speed away over the level plain, attended by a few faithful followers, and up, by rarely-trodden paths to the mountains, where wheels could no longer move; there the poor Queen was placed on a pillion behind Ensign Hopton, and sped forward again as best she might,—with all her sorrows, through the snow.[2]

Meanwhile young Rupert was sleeping soundly in his nurse's arms, undisturbed by the tumult and distraction round him. The terrified woman laid down her charge to hurry after the fugitives, and Baron d'Hona, the King's chamberlain, found him still asleep upon the ground. There was then no time for ceremony; the chamberlain flung the prince into the last carriage just as it dashed away from the Strahoff. The rough jolting soon wakened the poor

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[1] Harte's "Gustavus Adolphus." [2] Benett MSS.

child, who had rolled into some indescribable recess they call a "boot,"[1] his lusty cries attracted attention, and he was restored in safety to his mother.[2]

The royal fugitives hurried to Breslau, a distance of 120 miles, without stopping; then to Frankfort on the Oder, and finally to the old castle of Custrin, whose dreary and dismantled walls were grudgingly granted as an asylum by the brutal Marquis of Brandenburg. He was brother-in-law to the ex-King; yet his ungracious hospitality was yielded not to his kinsman, but to the daughter of the King of England, whose ambassador[3] would not be denied.

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[1] Captain Pyne's MSS., entitled, "An abstract (as near as I can remember) of all such passages and actions as hath happened unto and been atchieved by the illustrious and high-born Prince," &c. This Captain Pyne served under Prince Rupert as captain of a ship in his voyage to the West Indies, at which time these memoranda were evidently composed: they are very scanty, but quaint, downright and sailor-like. He says of the transaction in the text: "Here he was like to have been taken prisoner; for the Court and the city being in a distraction, every one flying for their safety, *leaving dinners undressed*, and his highness's maid let him fall, but with some difficulty he was preserved and thrown into a coach." Henceforward the longer and more formal MSS. biographer is my principal guide. His papers were evidently meant for publication, but I have not been able to discover who he was.

I am aware that this is not a very connected tale; the mother having left her child, and the attendants not knowing he was in the coach, &c. I think it better, however, to adhere faithfully to my MSS. than to taint fact with fiction. Many readers would doubtless desire to have these MSS. *totidem verbis*, but they are sometimes so diffuse, and sometimes so meagre, that I have preferred only to give their information and more expressive passages.

[2] Her elder children had been previously placed in safety with the Electress Juliana.

[3] Sir Henry Wotton, the honourable and faithful friend and correspondent of Elizabeth.

On the 22nd of December [1620], the Queen reached this shelter, and on the 25th she gave birth to Prince Maurice.

We shall not follow the fugitives through the remainder of their pilgrimage. Like stricken deer they wandered among the royal herd, yet further wounded, unwelcomed, or repulsed. At length the generous republicans of Holland afforded them the refuge that the pseudo-chivalry of Europe had refused.[1] In the year 1621 we find them not only lodged in a palace at the Hague, but liberally maintained there at the expense of the States.[2] The brave people of Holland, who had so lately won their own freedom, honoured Frederic as the champion, though unsuccessful, of civil and religious liberty: and the fascinating manners of his Queen threw a grace about their cause that recommended

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[1] This event is thus related by that excellent gossip, James Howell: "The news is, that the Prince Palsgrave, with his lady and children, are come to the Hague in Holland, having made a long progress, or rather a pilgrimage, about Germany from Prague. The old Duke of Bavaria, his uncle, is chosen Elector and Arch-Sewer in his place (but, as they say, in an imperfect Diet), with this proviso, that the transferring of this election [Electorship] upon the Bavarian shall not prejudice the next heir [to Frederic]. There is one Count Mansfeldt that begins to get a great name in Germany, and he with [Christian] Duke of Brunswick, who is temporal Bishop of Halverstade, have a considerable army on foot for the Lady Elizabeth, who, in the Low Countries and some parts of Germany, is called the 'Queen of Bohemia,' and for her winning, princely comport, the 'Queen of Hearts.'"—*Howell's Letters*, p. 91.

[2] They allowed 10,000 florins a month to their guests, accord- to Miss Benger's statement, [a sum equal to about a thousand pounds of our money.]

it to the imagination as well as to the sympathy of their protectors.

We have here a new and striking vicissitude of fortune for our Palatines: "the Pearl of Britain," the "Queen of Hearts," the once-happy Electress, the proud sovereign, is a pensioner upon the charity of a foreign nation. Denounced by the Emperor; disowned by her fallen subjects; neglected by her unnatural father;[1] banished from the beautiful scenery of Heidelberg and the fine old forests of Bohemia, she was now fain to dwell amongst the monotonous swamps, and dykes, and slow canals of the least amusing or amused, and the most industrious country in the world.[2] Yet her native elasticity of spirit still supported her, and except in moments of depression caused by her pecuniary distresses, her letters are full of life and animation. She amused herself with such society as she could find, and also with a good deal of romantic admiration on the part of her ardent but honourable devotees. Lord Craven, Christian, Mansfeldt, Thurm,

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[1] Some touching, but vain appeals from Elizabeth for aid may be found in Sir Henry Ellis's "Original Correspondence." James was too glad to find the care of his daughter taken off his hands. His incredible bigotry about divine right and other abstractions, made him look upon the Hollanders as rebels for having cast off the yoke of Spain, as he had denounced the Bohemians for insisting on elective rights.

[2] Howell ("Letters," p. 104) thus describes the Dutch of that day (1622): "The Fleming and Brabanter are slower than the Walloon, and the Hollander slower than they, and more sparing of speech, more surly and respectless of gentry and strangers, homely in his cloathing and heavy in his actions."

and Hopton, had all fallen under the spell of her innocent fascination. Nor was it mere lip-service that they offered; by sacrifice of life and fortune they were ready to advance her cause.

That cause had only volunteer chivalry to defend it: Mansfeldt,[1] after his fashion as a soldier of fortune, and Duke Christian[2] as a Protestant prince, and both as devoted admirers of Queen Elizabeth, fought for the Palatinate with zeal and gallantry. Death deprived her of both these champions (in 1627); they died, lamenting that it was not on the battle-field they died, for her. The people of England sent offerings of money from time to time, in hopes to aid the Queen and cause they loved so long and faithfully, but James seemed indifferent to both until within a few hours of his death.[3] Up to that period he had only mocked his son-in-law's necessities with dastardly "advice and scholastic ques-

[1] After a life of danger, this extraordinary man died in his bed, in an obscure village in Dalmatia, bequeathing all his property (gained by the sword,—he was born to nothing else) to Venice, where he had been educated.

[2] Administrator of Halberstadt, and brother to Ulric Duke of Brunswick, died also nearly at the same time, and in his bed. He had sworn to defend Elizabeth and the palatinate till death: he always wore her glove in his helmet. He assumed as his motto, "Friend to God and enemy to the Priesthood." Schiller (in the "Thirty Years' War") says of him: "He seemed to have learned from Mansfeldt the art of maintaining 20,000 men on nothing," a science in which Rupert was eminent in after days.

[3] Rusdorf relates, that he desired to "speak his majesty on special business touching the Palatinate. The King was then going out a-hunting, and swore he would not stop if God Almighty himself wanted him." *Mem.* Buckingham was charged by Sir John Eliot with having misapplied these monies.—*Forster's Lives.*

tions instead of money and legions."[1] But when approaching death dispelled his illusions, he charged Prince Charles as he hoped for a parent's blessing and that of heaven, to exert all his power to reinstate his sister and her children in their hereditary dominions, confessing it had been his mistake to seek the Palatinate in Spain.[2] This injunction was unheeded. Charles succeeded to his father's inveterate vanity of diplomacy, and sent Sir Harry Vane[3] with the old argument, instead of some honest man with such an army as England would have then supplied. In succeeding years the Favourite embroiled him so perpetually and unprofitably that he had neither men nor means to employ as his better nature would have suggested. Himself grave, thoughtful, and high-minded, Charles aspired after right counsels and noble actions, but like Faust, he found every step he took in a right direction thwarted and perverted by his Mephistopheles, the fantastic and fatal Buckingham. Once, indeed, in an evil hour for Elizabeth, the favourite espoused her cause, and England was full of hope that, after all, the Palatinate was to be recovered; the King, too, was pleased to find himself the champion of his sister; but scarcely had he felt that pleasure, when Buckingham quarrelled with Richelieu, and straightway the King flung the cause of the Palatine to

[1] Harte's "Gustavus Adolphus."

[2] Rusdorf's "Vindiciæ Causæ Palat."

[3] At Buckingham's nomination: he had a singular tact in selecting officials for their unfitness.

the winds! Every sentiment of justice, honour, and common sense revolts against such inconceivable folly and imbecility.

Rupert meanwhile was placed at the University of Leyden, with his eldest brother Prince Frederic Henry. Schoolboy experiences and events, however deeply they impress the character, leave little to record, and we only learn that our Prince became well grounded "in mathematics and religion," and was, "indeed, made Jesuit-proof," so that those "subtle priests with whom he hath been much conversant, could never make him stagger." Nevertheless he was by no means an exemplary scholar, for he had an utter distaste for the learned languages, and infinitely preferred amusement or military exercises to the most abstruse metaphysics. War was a passion with him from his earliest hour of intelligence, and he eagerly devoted himself to every matter connected with its science. Modern languages thus became interesting to him, and he mastered those of France, Spain, and Italy, to his great ultimate advantage. "But his chief delight was in military discipline, wherein he perfected so much under his different tutors for the infantry and cavalry, that at the age of fourteen he was judged worthy of commanding a regiment."

There never was a period when appetite for war was less unnatural; the oppression that Europe groaned under was enough to stir the iron[1] in men's

[1] It is said that enough of this metal can be obtained from

blood, and Rupert's race beyond all others had suffered from the great tyrannies of Austria and Spain. Gustavus Adolphus had just begun his great mission, and come down from the north in as pure a cause, and far more comprehensive, than Tell or Hofer fought for. He was the champion of spiritual freedom, and his heroic armies never disgraced their proud calling.[1]

He conceived the noble and politic design, too little thought of since, of elevating the moral and physical condition of the soldier; scorning the false and vulgar theory, that the more degraded and mechanical, the more efficient was his service.

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the veins of twenty-four men to make a sword. Liebig says something of the same kind in a peacefuller way.—*Animal Chemistry.*

[1] Hear, from one of themselves, how the soldiers of the Protestant king prepared for battle: "No sooner had the dawne appeared [on the field of Leipzig] than we begunne the morninge with offering oure soules and bodyes as living sacrifices unto God. Lifting up our hearts and hands to Heaven, we begged for reconciliation in Christ by our publique prayers and our secret sighs, recommending ourselves, the successe and event of the day to God, which being done by us all, we marcht forward in God's name."—*Munro*, p. 63. The reader will recognise the example set hereby to the English Puritans, who "sung a psalm and drubbed all before them." Also, as Sir Francis Doyle has it, in his excellent poem of "the Cavalier:"—

> "And though they snuffled psalms, to give
> Those rebel dogs their due,
> When the roaring shot poured thick and hot,
> They were stalwart men and true."

It would be a great error, however, to suppose that in the Puritan armies alone was that high devotional feeling, that "trust in the God of Battles" manifested. This we shall often have occasion to observe, and now only quote from the brave Sir Bevil Grenvil's letter to his wife in proof of it: "After solemn prayer at the head of every division we marched: I ledd the charge."—Quoted by Lord Nugent, *Life of Hampden*, ii. 370.

Tilly's doctrine was "a ragged soldier and a bright musket,"[1] and it obliged him to permit the fiend-like sack of Magdebourg: Gustavus was zealous for his people's character and comfort, and he could afford magnanimously to spare Munich. The Imperialist generals allowed such licence to their ruffian soldiery that their progress, even through a friendly country, was like a stream of lava; the Swedish army left no enemy behind except those who had died with armed hand. The camps of the Holy Roman Empire swarmed with dissolute women;[2] those of the Protestant King contained none but the wives of his soldiers.[3] Even his soldiers' children were well provided for with schools and rations, and kept in as strict discipline as their fathers, thus furnishing recruits trained to arms and order from their cradle.[4] Each regiment had two chaplains, men chosen for their character, who shared the fate and feelings of the soldiers, accompanying them to battle, cheering them in the advance, and soothing them in their

[1] Harte's "Gustavus Adolphus."

[2] Schiller, "Thirty Years' War," ii. 103. These women (*Harl. Mis. No.* 6844) "are to be ordered, if they *can* be ordered, into classes, under *Hureweibles*, and commanded by captainesses and other officeresses."

[3] Munro's "Art of War."

[4] "The moment the forces began to intrench themselves, the children were led to a safe quarter for their place of study. One day, contrary to the expectation of the general who allotted them their ground, a cannonball happening to pierce through the canvas walls of the school, killed two or three children at a stroke. The rest, far from quitting their places, neither changed colour nor dropped a pen or a book from their hands."—*Harte.*

dying hour.[1] Such an army, under such a leader, must have been invincible, or ceased to exist: it was invincible; the progress of Gustavus, considering what it had to contend with, is without any parallel in history. His renown, and the nature of his cause brought all the disengaged soldiers of fortune, and many enthusiasts to his standard: to have served under the great Gustavus rendered a man a veteran at once. English, Irish, and Scotch, thronged to the Swedish camp,[2] in which there were upwards of six thousand of our islanders.[3]

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[1] I have met with an anecdote (I forget where) characteristic of this camp. Friedhelm was a Swedish minister of great repute for his piety, patriotism, and eloquence. He could not remain quiet in his own country, when such great things were doing and to be done for the religion that he preached, and he joined the Swedish army the day before the battle of Leipzig. The soldiers welcomed him eagerly, and besought him to preach to them. They placed a drum for a pulpit, and gathered round in crowds to hear his sermon. The minister of the gospel of peace looked out upon the battle-field, dark to the horizon with a countless host about to meet in deadly struggle: overpowered by his feelings, he could only say, "My brethren, yonder is the enemy!" then, pointing upward, "There is God! Pray!" He was silent, burying his face in his hands, and the soldiers sank down as one man upon their knees.

[2] The two last, particularly the English, generally preferred the service of the Prince of Orange, for the sake of their Electress. The Scotch were preferred by Mansfeldt to the English, as being more hardy; and they seem to have been equally welcome to Gustavus. Munro ("Military Discipline," &c.) speaks in the highest terms of the Irish, for their docility, patience, and desperate bravery, p. 32, &c.

[3] Independently of the Marquis of Hamilton's six thousand men who were neutralized by his incapacity. In a work of this nature, I make no apology for this long episode and note relating to the great reformer of military discipline and tactics. Gustavus first taught the great value of infantry in the field. He reduced the unwieldy regiment of three thousand men to twelve hundred

Among these, were many who afterwards appeared conspicuously in our civil war, led by, or opposed to Prince Rupert. With such examples, and a career of war that appeared to be interminable before him, the young Palatine grew up and rejoiced in his martial destiny. He had ever been his mother's favourite, her hero, and her hope:[1] he was now often promoted to her companionship,

each, and afterwards to one thousand and eight, in order to distribute more officers among the soldiery, and to multiply the posts of preferment for brave men. He made his squadrons of cavalry much smaller, more active and disposable; he placed his battalions at greater distances from each other, and composed his battle-order of two lines. He laid aside the incumbrance of complete armour, retaining only the head-piece, and back and breast pieces. He reformed the matchlocks, and abolished the long pike. (Harte says, though Munro speaks enthusistically of this weapon, as "the best a gentleman ever handled.") His soldiers were regularly and largely paid. And here it is to be observed, that Napoleon's system, that "war should support itself," was freely acted upon by Mansfeldt, Christian, and even by the Imperialist leaders. Wallenstein in seven years raised 60,000,000 of dollars from one-half of Germany [about one-third per annum of what we pay in times of peace for our army]. The state to which he and his brother villains reduced their country, may be guessed at from the following details:—"Wheat was sold more times than once for 78*s.* a bushel (equal to about 11*l.* 14*s.* now). Guards were posted to prevent the newly-buried corpses from being devoured: there were instances of children being seduced, massacred, and eaten up. Every animal was so greedily sought after, that beasts of prey missed their daily food." When Lord Arundel passed through the seat of war, on his return from one of Charles' childish embassies to Vienna, "a fox crept out of a brake, and seized one of his servants by the leg; the man took it up, it was so weak; its eyes were haggard and sunk in its head!" —*Harte's Gust. Adol.; Schiller's Thirty Years' War; Munro's Military Discipline.*

[1] "From infancy he had been admired for quick parts and undaunted courage: he already reigned without a rival in his mother's heart, for she believed him born to be a hero."—*Miss Benger's Life of the Queen of Bohemia.*

and sometimes joined her hunting parties.[1] Of these she was passionately fond; they served at once to dissipate her cares, and to exercise those energies that were now left to prey upon themselves.

Not only did Prince Rupert follow "war's mimic game,"[2] as far as hawk and hound could gratify his passion, but he was permitted to share its stern realities at the siege of Rhynberg. The Prince of Orange obtained the consent thus to gratify the young soldier: but in a short time,

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[1] One day when they were hunting a fox, Prince Rupert was missing, so likewise was his tutor, and so was the fox. After a long search, the legs of the tutor were found projecting from a hole. The hunters pulled at the legs and drew out the tutor, the tutor drew out the Prince, and the Prince his favourite hound, and the hound the fox! It seems (Pyne's MS.) that the latter (as the story was then told) "took the earth, a dog which the Prince loved followed, but returning not, his Highnesse being impatient, crept after and caught hold of his legs, which he could not draw out by reason of the narrowness of the hole, until Mr. Billingsby took hold of his Highness," and at length they were all drawn out together. The narrator adds, "the picture of this passage is to be seen there, of which there hath been divers copies taken and dispersed abroad."

[2] James I., surely no martialist, nevertheless affected to honour hunting, for its resemblance to war. In his "Basilicon Doron" (addressed to his eldest son, Prince Henry) he enjoins the practice of all manly games, wrestling, fencing, dancing, "tennise and palle malle," but especially hunting (hear this, ye men of Melton!):—"Hunting with running hounds is the most honourable and noblest sort; for it is a thievish forme of hunting to shoote with gunnes and bowes; and greyhound hunting is not so martial a game; for hawking, I condemn it not, but I must praise it the more sparingly, because it neither resembleth the warre so well as hunting doth in making a man hardie and skilfully ridden, ... as for chesse, it is overwise and philosophick a folly."—*Strutt's Sports and Pastimes.*

hearing naughty stories of the camp morals, she recalled him, and he obediently resumed his studies at the university: it is pleasant to observe this docility towards his mother as contrasted with his natural impetuosity. In the same year we find his holidays diversified by one of the last tournaments on record. The Prince of Orange was desirous to make his Court as much as possible the resort of the chivalry of Europe: the graces and the cause of Elizabeth had chiefly contributed to make his capital the head-quarters of modern knights-errant, and for their gratification he held a "Passage of Arms" during the Christmas of 1633. It seems to have been of the gentler sort, for we find our boy Prince then "carrying away the palme; with such a gracefull aire accompanying all his accõns as drew the hartes and eyes of all spectators towards him. . . . . The Ladyes alsoe contended among themselves which should crowne him with the greatest and most wellcome Glorye." And among these Rubens' beauties, there was, of course, *one*, whom we would fain identify with a lady of later date, but the biographer only specifies her "as transcending the rest of her sex as much as his Highness's worth had transcended the noblest of his: nor was it possible that the greatest bravery should be shewn without attracting the admiracõn of ye greatest beauty."[1] After holidays

[1] Lansd. MSS. 817, fol. 157.

thus passed, it must have been trying to return to his studies at the university: he did so, however, and thus escaped the corrupt and licentious courses that prepared the German youths of rank for manhood of sensuality, and old age of contempt. The republican schools and scholars taught the young Prince that manly and independent bearing that accompanied him through all the changing fortunes of his life.

Among the few notices of Rupert's early life we have one where we should most wish to find it, in one of his father's affectionate and last letters:—it is a pleasant ray of sunshine on our wanderer's stormy career. Brief as the passage is, it allows us to see that Rupert was his father's as well as his mother's favourite, from the precedence he gives him over his elder brother, the Joseph Surface of the family. The letter we quote from is dated "Munich $\frac{7}{17}$ Mai, 1632," where Gustavus then held his camp and court in the palace of Maximilian. From the midst of warlike men, and hurried movements, and momentous councils, the father writes thus, after detailing his many disappointments but endeavouring to soften them to his wife, — "Je suis bien aise que Rupert est en vos bonnes graces, et que Charles fait si bein: certes ils me sont fort tretons. Dieu me fasse si heureux de pouvoir vous bientot revoir! tretons! Frederic."[1] This prayer was not granted: the

[1] Bromley's "Royal Letters," p. 38.

King died soon afterwards of a slow fever: some said his heart was broken, and it may have been so: if sorrows can kill, his might have been fatal to a stronger man.[1]

For ten weary years his life had been one long, unavailing struggle to recover his Palatinate: and this weary, heart-sickening hope, was yet farther darkened by the bitter bondage of private debt and poverty, and a lasting grief, in the death of his eldest son, the pride and promise of his House.[2] His un-

[1] Frederic's death was thus talked about in England at the time: "The Prince Palatine being returned to Mentz, was struck with the contagion: yet the malignity thereof was expelled, and great hopes of his recovery entertained, when the news of the death of the King of Sweden came upon him, and made such impressions upon him that he died a few days after, having overcome all difficulties and being ready to enter into a repossession of his country—a sad destiny!"—*Howell's Letters*, p. 247.

[2] This catastrophe was painfully connected with the consequences of this economy. By nature Frederic was possessed of the right noble quality of generosity, but he brought himself to exercise the yet nobler quality of economy when he could only be lavish at the expense of others. He had gone to Amsterdam (in January, 1625*) accompanied by the young Prince Frederic, "and returning (for more frugality) by the common boat, which was overset [overladen] with merchandize and other passengers, in a thick fog the vessel turned over, and so, many perished: the Palsgrave saved himself by swimming, but the young prince being entangled among the tackling, was drowned and frozen to death."—*Howell*, p. 178. His voice was heard for a moment exclaiming, "Save me! father, save me!" He seems to have been a noble fellow,—warm-hearted, religious, learned, generous, and brave. Sir Henry Wotton, in his "Reliquiæ," calls him "a gentleman of verie sweete hope."

* Miss Benger places this in 1629; Howell's letter relating to it is dated 25th February, 1625–6: his letters are often misdated, but in this same letter he alludes to the recent death of James I.

happy cause had been adopted and forsaken by half the powers of Europe; by each solely for its own purposes. England, above all, had mocked his hopes, and increased his difficulties,[1] and the Princes of the Union had basely and blindly abandoned the Palatinate and their true interests, at every trivial temptation. At length an earnest and heroic man arose, to redeem the character of the age, to compel the northern powers to defend that great cause they had so long trifled with, and to raise up the Reformed Faith. Gustavus Adolphus made his appearance in the midst of the Thirty Years' War, and at once all its scattered elements were concentrated round his standard, or gathered themselves together to oppose him. Frederic and his cause found a ready welcome in the Swedish camp, notwithstanding the British interference that accompanied him in the sinister shape of Sir Harry Vane. Gustavus bestowed on his forlorn guest all the honours of a crowned head, gave him the first place of honour in his glorious march, and lodged him triumphantly in the palace of his enemy at Munich.[2] Yet his re-

[1] In a pasquinade of the day it was said, "The Palsgrave would soon have a large army, as the King of England was about to send over 100,000 men. 'What? soldiers?' 'No; *ambassadors!*' was the reply." Amongst these were Sir Richard Weston, Sir Edward Conway, Lord Carlisle, Sir Arthur Chichester, and Lord Digby, all within two years. They were all remarkable afterwards in the Civil Wars.

[2] Maximilian had pursued his inoffensive cousin, Frederic, with the most unrelenting enmity, spoiled his palaces, possessed himself of his Palatinate, supplanted him in his honours: yet when Frederic was thus placed in a position to retaliate,

storation seemed as distant as before.[1] Gustavus, for some unexplained reason, deferred this act of justice, as it proved, for ever. He was annoyed, with sufficient reason, at the incredible bigotry of the poor outcast Palatine, who there, in the Lutheran camp, refused to tolerate the Lutherans at Heidelberg;[2] and he was irritated at the appearance of dictation from England, especially through the clumsy or malevolent agency of Vane.

At length the battle of Lutzen, and the conqueror's death, appeared fatal to the Palatine's last hope. Like a melancholy shadow he had moved in constant and uncomplaining attendance on his champion's brilliant career; he now followed him in death as unresistingly as he had done in life. To succumb seemed part of his character; if he had had energy to live, he would have found this presumed fatality to his cause its best security. Gustavus could afford to treat him as he pleased,[3] Oxenstiern found it necessary to conciliate his allies, and so fulfilled the obligations of justice.[4]

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he refused to touch one particle of his ruthless enemy's possessions.*

[1] Schiller, ii. 40.

[2] Harte's Gust. Adolphus.

[3] Schiller's "Thirty Years' War," ii. 154.

[4] But Elizabeth was never destined to revisit Heidelberg, or even Frankenthal, her dower-house. The Palatinate was not actually restored until some years after, and then it fell into the

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* Amongst other ravages he had taken the magnificent library of Heidelberg: half of it he gave as a peace-offering to the Vatican, half he took to Munich.

The widowed Queen was now, indeed, left desolate; Charles the First, it is true, sent an embassy of condolence by Lord Arundell, with a tardy invitation to England: but this offer of cold kindness was mocked by his injustice: he had withheld her pension for years, repeatedly and pathetically as she had striven to obtain it.[1] Whilst the Court of England was the most splendid in Europe,[2] and the King had enriched a score of palaces[3] with objects of *virtù*, his sister remained a pensioner on Holland, and so bound down with debts, that she was unable to leave that country.[4] The offer of hospitality,

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hands of her son, Charles Louis, a selfish, avaricious, canting hypocrite. He left his mother to pine under the bitter burden of debt and charity in a foreign land, while he wallowed in sensuality and splendour in the palace her taste and dower had adorned.

[1] This injustice towards Elizabeth seems to have been (however culpable) an official fault. Niggardliness was not one of Charles' many faults, and when the old Duchess of Holstein died, and left nearly 74,000*l.* to be divided between him and his sister, he at once assigned his share to her. Owing to the King of Denmark's meanness, she never received any portion of the sum.

[2] Lord Orford.

[3] Some say nineteen, others twenty-four. It is much to be desired that some person qualified for such an undertaking would endeavour to make a *budget* out of the voluminous financial materials that remain to us of this reign. The enormous expenses attributed to Charles are so incompatible with the generally believed amount of his income, that there must be a mistake somewhere.

[4] I mention this only on the authority of Miss Benger, who does not quote hers. Certain it is, from her own correspondence (in Bromley's "Royal Letters"), that she long endeavoured in vain to obtain this English pension, sanctioned, as it was, by parliament. The reasons she *assigned* for not accepting Charles's invitation are thus given in a letter from Sir George Gresly (dated January,

therefore, was refused, who can say how reluctantly, by her who had been an exile from her native land for twenty years!

In the year 1635 Prince Rupert made his first real campaign as volunteer in the life-guard of the Prince of Orange; rejecting all distinction of his rank, discharging all the duties, and sharing all the hardships of the private soldier. It was an inglorious campaign as to result, but it was signalized by many individual acts of chivalry.[1] France had resumed the old ambition of extending her territory to the Rhine, and the "red" cardinal[2] had merged his spiritual scruples in his political aspirations: hence

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.1633) published in the "Court and Times of Charles I.," Lond. 1848: "The Queen of Bohemia prays the King's pardon for not coming into England at this present, in that she much desires that their meeting might be without any measure of mourning at all, which her late great loss will not as yet permit her to perform. Besides, the States and Princes in those parts offering to go up into the Palatinate with the young Prince her son, and to establish him in some part of his inheritance this next summer, it might seem some neglect in her to depart thence before the expiration of so short a time." — *Court and Times of Charles I.*, 1848, vol. ii. p. 223.

We find that Lord Craven accompanied the Princess to England, and was very energetic about this pension. His chivalrous zeal probably pleaded far more earnestly and, as it appears, effectively, than diplomatic representations or a throneless queen's appeal. His interference procured even the arrears of Elizabeth's pension.

For the Prince not going to England then, see "Court and Times of Charles I.," ii. 226.

[1] A herald was sent to Brussels to announce this war against Spain, the last time of such a ceremony being performed.—*See Le Vassor, Louis XIII.*

[2] Richelieu was so called in distinction to Mazarin, who was styled his "Black Eminence." The former used to drive through Paris in a "scarlet coach, attended by three footmen clothed in the same colour."

we find him entering on an essentially religious war, in union with the Protestant Republicans, against his most Catholic Majesty of Spain, and the head of the holy Roman Empire. The French are the worst allies in the world in the field, and the Dutch the most incompatible with such comrades. The Mareschal de Brezé defeated the Spaniards under Prince Thomas, and forming a junction with the Prince of Orange, took Tirlemont, which they sacked so horribly as to estrange and disgust the Dutch. Louvain, however, was besieged by the allies; but in such ill-concert that they were soon obliged to retire; the French, dispirited and decimated, to await an enemy in their own country, and the Dutch to recover the strong fortress of Schenkenseyan. In these operations, and at the passage of the river Florival, Prince Rupert vehemently laboured to distinguish himself as much as the indifferent nature of the affairs would permit, and, of course, in his biographer's enthusiastic opinion, "covered himself with glorie."[1] Turenne was acquiring experience in the same campaign, much under the same circumstances of age and ambition as our prince.

In November 1635,[2] Prince Charles Louis (now titular Elector Palatine) proceeded to England on a visit to the King his uncle. His cause was still

[1] Benett MSS.

[2] Laud, in his "Diary," says they arrived on the 26th January, 1636. Howell, in his letters, dated the 25th January, 1836, says, "the Palatine Princes have now been some time here."

dear to the English nation, not only for his mother's sake, but for so much of the Protestant interest as his name still represented.[1] Prince Rupert followed the Elector in December, and more than shared the kind welcome with which Charles endeavoured to obliterate the recollection of his past neglect. The Queen Henrietta Maria at once gave him a high place in her facile affections, and Charles formed a regard for him as lasting and firm as that of the Queen's was evanescent.[2]

In England he passed a pleasant and quiet year, caressed and flattered, basking in both "court and country's sunshine,"[3] and imbibing in return such a

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[1] The Palatine lost no opportunity (naturally enough) of paying court to the Puritans; and, cold-blooded canting sinner as he was, he succeeded in winning the affection of a party among whom princes were very scarce. It is said, indeed proved, he had even hopes of the throne on his uncle's deposition.—*Forster, Br. St.* iv. 82.

[2] The following curious notice of the Queen's objections to our hero occurs long afterwards, but may find a place here. The "Mercurius Britannicus," of July 7, 1645, says, "Rupert himself (after all his merciful service) is not to be trusted, for our Sovereign shee-saint [the Queen] sends a scolding epistle out of France (she knows how to do it) to the King, her husband, wherein (like a true comptroller of the breeches) shee signifies her displeasure for making Rupert generall. Hee makes excuse that hee would rather trust him than the Marquis of Hartford." Such is the style of the public press in early days.

[3] Lloyd's "Loyalists." In a pamphlet of 1644 (now in the British Museum), on occasion of some private letters of the Prince's being taken at Marston Moor, we have the following admission of his youthful popularity:—"Rupert was once a pretty young man, and this kingdom did *love him well*, and gave him his maintenance . . . . . but now he hopes to be King himself (!) . . . . . He is fitting his head for a crown, and hath a montero [short Spanish cloak], which he means to make use of under it."—*Rupert's Cabinet Rifled.* Lond. 1644.

love for his mother's country that he thenceforth looked upon it as his own, with an undivided sense of patriotism. The people were anxious that he should have some of the lucrative places about Court that were bestowed so contrarily to their wishes; but Charles seems to have had no desire to settle him as a fixture in his dominions. It seemed necessary, however, to provide for him by some means or other. Laud proposed to make him a bishop, as Bishop Williams had suggested to King James long before,[1] but this was strongly objected to by the young soldier. It was then proposed that he should "goe as Vize-roy" to Madagascar, or "St. Lawrence" as it was then indifferently called, an island at that time described in the most glowing colours as the cradle of prosperity and wealth.[2] The pamphlets, in which its charms of scenery and climate, its vast capabilities and facilities for commerce are described, lie before me now.[3] And I do not wonder that by enterprising

[1] See p. 136, note [3].

[2] See pamphlet in King's Collect (British Museum), 240, 16, by Endymion Porter, who was commissioned by Charles to make inquiries.

[3] There is one especially (in the British Museum) written by a Mr. Boothby, who confesses to be a broken merchant, broken "by unhappie ventures in the Indian trade." This bankrupt writes so eloquently, that he seems to be in earnest, and yet he writes from personal experience of this savage island, which two centuries may have tamed, but it is not in time's nature to make fiercer. Unless this island be greatly changed, even the following particulars render it of interest now. Mr. Boothby speaks enthusiastically of "its healthfulnesse, fertilitie, pleasure and wealth," ..... the "affabilitie" of the inhabitants, "the plentie and

spirits, unchastened either by knowledge or experience, such an undertaking should have been eagerly espoused. It was actually "passed in council," that an expedition should be fitted out for this purpose; it was to consist of twelve ships of war and twenty-four merchantmen. These were to be followed annually by twelve more, to carry out munitions, and to bear back the produce of that golden land. Rupert eagerly accepted the leadership, and Captain Bond was appointed his lieutenant: the grave Lord Arundell had, with Monk (who was already distinguished in the continental wars), promoted, if not devised, the enterprize. Who can speculate on what might have been the result, if this enterprize had been patronised by a Don John of Portugal, instead of by a Stuart, and undertaken by a Brooke[1]

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cheapnesse of their foode, flesh, fowle, and fish, oranges and lemonds, sugar, amber-greece, gold, tortle-shells, and drugs." ..... "The chiefest place in the world to enrich men by trade to and from India, Persia, &c. He that is lord of Madagascar, may in good time be emperor of all India." ..... "Nor must be omitted the cheapnesse of all necessaries, both for back and bellie, to be had out of India for the relief of the planters." There is a curious story told by the same writer, of some Portuguese "fryars" (missionaries) who, hearing that the "King of the Madagascars" was ill, requested to be admitted to his presence, saying, they could be of use to his soul. They were taken at their word, and when he died, were put to death, in order that they might accompany the aforesaid soul to the skies, to be useful to it there. He mentions also that "the hogs in Melinda (Madagascar) have stones in their mawes, called *petra de porkca*, which are in greate esteeme for expelling poison." It is a curious assertion, coupled with the fact, that swine kill and eat poisonous vipers with impunity, and are very fond of henbane.—*King's Collection of Pamphlets* (*British Museum*), 266. 17.

[1] The noble-minded Rajah of Borneo.

instead of an Arundell: how history would seem dislocated if we leave the Parliamentary wings at Edgehill, Naseby, and Marston unconquered, the King unrestored, the Arundelian marbles unremoved. At the same time it was proposed that Charles Louis should lead a similar expedition to the West Indies, and establish a new throne under the Palm, that might atone for the long lost Palatinate. There is no record that I know of, why these projects failed; we have only Elizabeth's very decisive declaration, that "no sons of hers [her romantic days were now over, poor lady!] should go for knight-errants."[1]

Episcopacy and emigration having failed to supply a settlement for our young Prince, the old resource of an heiress was next thought of. There had been some talk of this long before, when a lady, more agreeable it seems to his guardian's taste than to his own, had been suggested for his bride. This was Mademoiselle de Rohan, daughter of the brave duke whose name was associated throughout Europe with the cause of the Huguenots. This match appears, like that of Charles himself with the infanta, to have originated in a mere intrigue for some ephemeral purpose; without sincerity then, but maturing ultimately into seriousness when it was too late. The negotiation extended from the year 1632 to 1643, when it was broken off in a very unexpected manner. As being amusing in itself

[1] Howell, p. 257.

and throwing some light on manners, as well as on our hero, the correspondence is given entire.

The first time the question is mooted is in the following letter from Charles Louis; it bears the date of 1632, but this must be an error as is so often the case in the letters[1] from which I quote.

FROM CHARLES LOUIS, PALATINE, TO THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.[2]

CONCERNING my brother Rupert, M. de Soubise hath made overture that, with your Majesty and your brother's [Charles I.] consent, he thinks M. de Rohan would not be unwilling to match him with his daughter. The King [Charles] seemeth to like of it, but he would have your advice and consent in it. I think it is no absurd proposition for she is great both in means and birth and of the Religion. [Our young Elector's order of precedence for desirables is characteristic.]

Oatlands, $\frac{16}{26}$ Sept., 1632.[3]

At this time brother Rupert would have been only thirteen years of age, according to this date, but as he had been already in the wars, the matrimonial arrangement may not have seemed so precocious. Though not legally affianced, Made-

[1] "Royal Letters" by Sir George Bromley, Bart. This gentleman was a descendant of Prince Rupert, through his natural daughter Ruperta, and was father to the present baronet, Admiral Sir Robert Bromley.

[2] Bromley's "Letters," p. 56.

[3] The date should probably be 1636. When Charles Louis *was* in England.

moiselle de Rohan seems to have considered herself as betrothed henceforth; for when Rupert was prisoner to such an enemy that his release seemed hopeless, and the lady was advised to dismiss him from her thoughts, she declined to do so. It does not seem probable that at this time Richelieu would have allowed a warlike heretic to possess himself of the great national heiress, and poor mademoiselle herself was left little choice with such a guardian. It is not likely she ever even saw our hero, but his brilliant bravery must have struck her imagination; and his royal birth, his romantic history, and his personal beauty, were dangerous auxiliaries against her peace. Even his imprisonment was far from injuring his cause, as we find in the spirited reply detailed by Lord Leicester.[1] It does not appear, however, that Rupert himself was inclined to the arrangement. The following letters will describe the lady and her prospects.[2]

ROBERT EARL OF LEICESTER, TO KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

* * * * * *

Monsieur de Rohan, Sir, hath left another work behind him, worthy of perusing, in another kind. His daughter, Madamoiselle de Rohan, far handsomer than is necessary, and much discreeter than is ordinary. Some

[1] Collins, "Memorials," ii. 575.

[2] They are to be found in "Sydney's Letters and Memorials of State," by Collins, vol. ii. p. 545.

friends of hers, as I hear, have written to Monsieur de Soubise, to make an overture to your Majesty, of a marriage between Prince Robert and her. I knew not this till after the departure of the last weekes ordinary, else I should not have failed to advertise your Majesty thereof sooner: and so secretly is it carried, that Madame de Rohan knows nothing of it. I verily believe, that the best friends of that house do much desire this match, and with good reason too, if your Majesty like of it; but without yours, and this King's consent, little can be done to the purpose. A younger brother Prince, by that means may be reasonably well provided for, and yet nothing out of the way to partake of the re-establishment of his House, when it shall please God. The revenue left by Monsieur de Rohan is said to be 40,000 crowns a year; and I believe that is the most: little ready money, and but little lent. Besides, there is an expectation of Monsieur de Soubise's estate; and that which another Madamoiselle de Rohan[1] doth live upon; all which they say will descend to the young lady. I have seen Madame de Rohan, and her daughter, in their affliction, which is very great; and with cause enough; but whatsoever she may wish, it was not fit for her then, nor for me, at any time, without commandment, to speak of that marriage: yet she desired me to present her humblest duties to your Majesty, beseeching you to continue that favor towards herself, and her daughter; which she presumes they were happy in for her husband's sake, during his life; who had the honor, to be acknowledged by your Majesty, and the Queen, not only an humble servant; but, for his greatest glory,

[1] This was a lady mentioned in Bayle's "Dictionary" as eminently learned in Hebrew, &c., and as distinguished for her spirit at the siege of Rochelle, where she refused to accept any terms from Richelieu. She was proposed (in 1627) as a match for the Count de Soissons.—*Hardwicke, State Papers.* She, also, was an heiress and a duke's daughter. She died unmarried in 1646, aged 62.

somewhat of kin also unto both your Majesties, whom I beseech God to bless, with perfect and perpetual happiness: so in all humility I rest,

Your Majesty's most faithful, and
most obedient subject and servant,
LEYCESTER.

Paris, $\frac{8}{18}$ April, 1638.

TO ROBERT EARL OF LEICESTER.[1]

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right wellbeloved cousin, we greet you well. There was an overture made to the late Duke of Rohan, for a marriage between our nephew, Prince Rupert, and his daughter, which was very well entertained, and likely to have succeeded, if that Duke had lived. Since his decease, his brother, Monsieur de Soubise, here with us, desiring to continue that treaty, and promising to do good offices with the Duchess of Rohan, and otherwise where he shall be able, we have thought fit to acquaint you with it, and to recommend it to your care. And because it is to be negotiated in France, and cannot be effected without the consent of the king our good brother, whose subject she is, we do hereby require you to make choice of some fit and able person, whom you may trust, to move it to the Cardinal de Richlieu, that by his intervention the French king might be brought to give way to it. This is a business of great weight, and you know how much we take to heart any thing that concerns the good of our dearest sister, and her children, especially in so high a degree as this; which, if it speed, is to bring so fair an estate to the Prince our nephew. The success will much depend upon the prudent managing of it with the King and Cardinal there,

[1] Gallia E. Lecester, 1636, 1637, 1638, fol. 37.

which we doubt not but you will order with that dexterity, which you have used in other our affaires, since your employment in our service, and give us an accompt, from time to time, of your diligences heerin.

Given &c.

SECRETARY WINDEBANK TO ROBERT EARL OF LEICESTER.[1]

My Lorde,

It hath pleased his Majesty to committ the addresse of the adjoyned to my care and trust, and withall to comande me to give your Lordship knowledge of Monsieur de Soubizes good affections in this businesse, and promises to use the most powerfull meanes he can to the French King, and the Cardinal de Richlieu to favour and advance it.

His Majesty had once given me order to instruct your Lordship in it; but considering it of great weight, and that it concerned the prince his nephew, and his fortune very highly, it pleased him rather to appeare in it himselfe; by which your Lordship may perceave, how much his Majesty takes it to harte.

* * * * * *

Westminster, 26 April, 1638.

ROBERT EARL OF LEICESTER TO MR. SECRETARY WINDEBANK.[2]

Sir,

The last two weekes neither brought me the honor of any letters from you, nor produced any occasion, which might justify the troubling you with mine; but on Monday last I received yours of the 18 Oct. for which I humbly thanke your honor. The day before I had bin

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[1] Gallia E. Lecester, 1636, 1637, 1638, letter 38.

[2] Gallia E. Lecester, letter 118.

with Madam de Rohan, to see in what disposition I should finde her, after the unhappy news of Prince Robert's being taken prisoner. I cannot perceive that she is at all changed, but remains constant to her former wishes, and sayd that the conclusion or breaking of the business, depends upon his Majestye. She answer'd also for her daughter, and related this passage to me. Some body had sayd to Madamoiselle de Rohan; "Now that Prince Robert is prisoner you should do well to abandon the thought of him, and apply yourself to enterteine the addresses of your servant, the Duc de Nemoirs; to which she answered, "I am not ingaged any where, but as I have bin inclined, so I am still, for it would be a lascheté to forsake one, because of his misfortune; and some generosity to esteem him in the same degree as before he fell into it." And I am very confident, sir, that she spak as she thought, and will make good her words.

What answer the Cardinal de Richlieu gave unto her majestye, appears by his letter, whereof I doubt not but your honor hath notice; for my part I know no more than a little, which Mr. Jermyn told me he had received by word of mouth from the cardinal. But for the second point mention'd in your Letter concerning the demands, I conceive that will not breake the treaty, if they may be satisfied in reasonable and convenient proportion: for Madame de Rohan hath told me, that they never intended to insiste upon the accomplishment of those demands to the uttermost; and if you please to looke back, I thinke you will finde she hath sayd heretofore, that they would not article with the king of Great Brittain, but trust rather to his affection and generosity. And I confess I ever understood it to be the desyre of Mr. De Soubise, rather then a demand of them. So having no more to say of that busines at this time, I humbly leave it to the pleasure of God and the King. Yours, &c.

LEYCESTER.

Paris, $\frac{18}{28}$ Nov., 1638.

Thus wrote the sanguine ambassador, but the person chiefly interested in the transaction lay prisoned in the old castle of Lintz. And within those mouldering walls there lurked a danger more fatal to this union, than all the flatteries and wooings with which Parisian chivalry assailed the constant lady. In order not to interrupt this matrimonal episode we give its conclusion in the following extraordinary letter from the King to Prince Maurice, written five years later, during the height of the Civil War:—

FROM KING CHARLES THE FIRST TO PRINCE MAURICE.

NEPHEU MAURICE,

Though Mars be now most in voag, yet Hymen may bee sometymes remembred. The matter is this, your mother and I have beene somewhat engaged concerning a Mariage betwine your brother Rupert and Mademoisell de Rohan, and now her frends press your brother to a positive answer which I find him resolved to give negatively; therefore, I have thought fitt to let you know if you will not by your engagement take your brother handsomely off. I have not tyme to argue this matter, but to show my judgement, I asseure you that if my son James weer of a fitt age, I would want of my will but he should have her. . . . . So, hoping and praying God for good newes from you, I rest

Your loving oncle and faithful frend,

CHARLES R.

Oxford, 4 July, 1643.

For my nephew Prince Maurice.[1]

This endeavour to accommodate matters shared

[1] Harl. MSS., 6988, 88. Original entirely in the King's hand.

the usual fate of this unlucky King's contrivances. Whether Mars was too much "in voag" for Maurice to think of gentler strategy, or that mere Palatine wilfulness prevailed, we know not. But the next notice we find of our heroine is by the Cardinal de Retz, in speaking of "Henri Chabot qui epousa (1645) Marguerite Duchesse de Rohan, fille et heritière du grand Duc de Rohan. Elle porta le duché a Henri Chabot, à condition que les enfans porteroient le nom et les armes de la maison de Rohan; il mourût en 1655."[1]

To return to the year 1636;—I do not find that Rupert himself ever took any part in this matrimonial negotiation. I much fear the morals of the Court were not such as to inspire a lady-favoured and very young man with a craving for home pleasures.[2] The Queen had exercised her wayward and imperious humour to its fullest extent in giving as Parisian a character as possible to society. Her own national levity was very fatal in its example, and her love of show led the Court to ruinous expenses, and consequent corruption to repair them. Intriguing seems to have been as boundless, though not so shameless,

[1] "Memoires," tome i. p. 115, note.

[2] There is a letter from Lady Leicester to her husband in the "Sidney Papers," (vol. ii. p. 472,) written in 1636, which speaks unpleasantly, not only for the style of drawing-room conversation, but of the manners of the courtiers. This is sadly countenanced, too, by Lord Sunderland's letter (in the same vol. p. 668) from the camp. It is with regret and a sense of disappointment that we find the King's pleasure in the debauched coxcomb, Buckingham's, society thus partly accounted for, and only too much reason for giving some credit to Milton's charge, "*papillas suaviari*," &c.—*Prose Works*, vol. ii. p. 315.

as in Charles the Second's Court. Gorgeous and puerile masques, plays and pastorals, in which her majesty delighted to exhibit herself, were much "in voag;"[1] immense sums were lavished on dress; gambling was eagerly and recklessly pursued in all societies, and there was very little, in short, that could have been told to the Queen of Bohemia calculated to set her mind at ease with respect to her sons.[2]

In March, 1636, we find the "Earl Marshal"

[1] Some of these were performed before the king and bishops *on Sunday.—See Strafford Letters*, vol. ii. p. 148. We find, too, that the privy council sat ordinarily on Sunday ("Court and Times of Charles II.," 284), and that Archbishop Laud transacted persecution affairs on the same day. *See* his "Diary."

Mr. Gerrard writes to Lord Strafford in January, 1633:—"There are two masques in hand. The first [by the men] of the Inns of Court, the other by the King; they say the masque will cost the men of law 20,000*l*. . . . . The dicing-night the King carried away in James Palmer's hat 1850*l*.—*Strafford Papers.* Mr. D'Israeli speaks of these entertainments, the curiosity of the scenical machinery and the fancy of the poet; the richness of the crimson habits of the gentlemen, and the white dresses, heron plumes, jewelled head-dresses, and "ropes of pearl of the ladies," &c. "Such were the magnificent entertainments," says Mr. Gifford in his introduction to Massinger, "which, though modern refinement may affect to despise them, modern splendour never reached to even in thought."...*Curiosities of Literature*, vol. v. p. 223, quoted by Jesse, *Court of the Stuarts.*

[2] Lord Craven had accompanied them to England, partly as their Mentor, and partly to endeavour to obtain the arrears of pension for his queen. In this he at length succeeded, and communicated a temporary relief to one who was too proud to accept his pecuniary assistance for herself. The delicacy of this chivalrous nobleman, throughout the whole severely-tried career of her he watched over, is as admirable as his heroism in the field and his magnificent generosity to his sovereign. He gave the latter 50,000*l*., for which he was fined heavily besides by the Parliament; he headed the subscription list for the recovery of the Palatinate with 10,000*l*.; he gave his Palatine godson 1500*l*. worth of plate, and 200*l*. a year; and he had to pay 20,000*l*. for his own release in the Palatine cause.

[Lord Arundel] departing for Vienna on one of the endless embassies concerning the Palatinate. "The Emperor, it appears, has now offered the Lower Palatinate 'presently,' and the Upper, with the Electoral dignity, on the Duke of Bavaria's death; but King Charles demurs to this moderate proposition, and thinks he can do better by sending an embassy."[1] He does not, however, but much worse; and that, too, at great cost of men, and means, and credit.

Meanwhile, the King visits Oxford, whither our Prince accompanies him, and was made Master of Arts in that noble university; being the first who received an honorary degree there.[2] He, Prince Charles Louis,[3] and the King dined afterwards with Laud, as Chancellor of the University.[4] Thence they returned to Whitehall.[5]

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[1] "The dismal calamities that befel Charles I." says Hamond L'Estrange, "derived their first existence from these seminalities," to wit: "the pusillanimity of James, his father, in not assisting Protestantism and the Palatinate, his spending vast sums in idle embassies, &c." [2] Anthony Wood.—*Ant. Oxon.*

[3] An amiable anecdote is told of Charles during the civil wars, which may as well be mentioned here. He wished to consult some volume in the Bodleian Library, and sent for it: the librarian, with simple fidelity to his rules, replied, that no books once entered there were ever allowed to leave it. This message being brought to the King, he rose up, put on his hat, and went himself to seek for the volume, as modestly as any sizar.—*Jesse.*

[4] Laud's "Diary."

[5] "The Whitehall Palace of Charles I. extended from Scotland Yard to the Privy Gardens, standing over the Thames. A complete plan was engraven by Virtue in 1747, from a survey made by Fisher in 1680."—*Pennant's Survey.* This plan may be seen in Jesse's "Memorials of London."

The vast palace is shewn by this plan to have embraced almost

"At this period Charles the First held the most splendid court in Europe:"[1] it was so, not only for the pomp and magnificence displayed there, but for the refined taste and exquisite judgment that had enriched its precincts. The finest works of art in Europe were collected there, and Rubens and Vandyke were found among their own creations. Ben Jonson was poet-laureate to the Court, and Inigo Jones gave classic beauty to its decorations. Ferabasco refined the musicians to the standard of his own exquisite ear, and the King had skill and power to appreciate and to heighten all. Bassompierre described the company of this rival Court as "magnificent and its order exquisite." We may be excused for dwelling a moment on this graceful splendour when the rest of our lives are to be past in the camp or leaguer, the restless bivouac and the dreary moor.

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all the space now occupied by Whitehall, the Admiralty, the Horse Guards, the Treasury Chambers, Downing Street, &c. St. James's Park was its "place of pleasance," and Spring Gardens were attached to it. All the royal family had separate suites of apartments, including (for each) kitchens, pantries, coal-stores, &c. Prince Rupert lived near 'the Cockpit,' and the Queen of Bohemia had apartments prepared here for her, 'they being the same she used to occupy when she was a mayd.'"—*Howell's Letters.* This palace was called York House by Shakspeare, from its having pertained to that see. Wolsey, as Archbishop of York, possessed it, and disposed of it to Henry VIII. In 1695 it was burned down, the banqueting house (built by Inigo Jones for James I.) alone escaping. Queen Anne, after its destruction, removed to St. James's Palace. Hamilton (*Mem. de Grammont,* ii. p. 40) says, "La Tamise lave les bords du vaste et peu magnifique palais des Rois de la Grande Bretagne." The *Harl. Misc.* iv. 367, says it was burnt down on the 4th January, 1698.—*Pennant's Survey.*

[1] Horace Walpole, "Royal and Noble Authors," vol. iii. 271.

"Charles appears," says Mr. D'Israeli,[1] "to have desired that his Court should resemble the literary Court of the Medici. He assembled about him the great masters of their various arts. We may rate Charles's taste at the supreme degree, by remarking that this monarch never patronized mediocrity: the artist who was honoured by his regard was ever a master-spirit. Father of art in our country, Charles seemed ambitious of making English denizens of every man of genius in Europe." Vandyke and Rubens were domiciled in England; and who can tell how much the Cavalier cause owes of its romantic interest to the classic, yet original grace, with which the former has immortalized the persons of its heroes.[2] The Italians happily call him "Il Pittore Cavalieresco," and it was in one of his happiest moods that he made that fine picture of Prince Rupert, bequeathed, in gratitude for many a noble service, to Lord Craven, and now in possession of his descendant at Combe Abbey.

In the midst of such society it was natural for our young Prince to imbibe the accomplished tastes he saw so richly displayed around him, and there-

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1 Comment. iii. 93.

2 See "Edinburgh Review," xlii. p. 330, and Macaulay's "Essays," who says, that "Charles owed his popularity to having taken his little son on his knee and kissed him, and for having had prayers read at six o'clock in the morning, and for his Vandyke dress and peaked beard." These "Essays" were written long ago: their eloquence and *verve* may sometimes carry the reader, as they do the writer, unconsciously beyond the bounds of taste and good feeling, and therefore of truth.

with to nourish and cultivate his own natural genius for the arts.[1] We shall soon find him, a solitary prisoner, consoling himself with such resources, and exercising those gifts that ultimately made his pencil as famous as his sword.

But these Medicean enjoyments were not the only attractions that the Court of Charles possessed for the young Palatine. The Queen, Henrietta Maria, had a passion for society and a Frenchwoman's wonderful tact in sustaining its effervescence. She had contrived to impart to her drawing-room gossip some of the deep and agitating importance of the Council Chamber. Every interest was, therefore, concentrated there: every political or social intrigue was there to be heard of, to be canvassed, and schemed about yet further. Under this glittering mask, most of the many mischiefs of the State were concocted, or, at least, received their poisonous ingredients.[2] The Queen's winning manner and sweet beauty threw a grace

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[1] *See* Appendix for Lord Orford's character of Rupert.—*Catalogue of Engravers*, p. 135.

[2] One of the fierce controversial pamphlets of 1643, thus speaks of the Queen, at a later period, but in the same sense:—"Because her Pope is turned out of doors, she makes the fatal sisters* and furies of her Privy Council, and proceeds so manfully meritoriously, that Sir Kenelm Digby consults now with her Holiness, to have her set in the Rubric as 'St. Nemesis of the breeches.'"—*Harleian Misc.* v. 343.

* It is curious that Bishop Warburton designates Lady Carlisle (in a pithy note to Clarendon's Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 541), as "the Erinnys of her Times."

and fascination over all this, and Lady Carlisle, the prime minister of her boudoir and petty politics, was also beautiful and persuasive: Lady Rivers, Lady Aubigny, Lady Isabel Thynne, belonged to the same circle, and were similarly qualified. Their charms, or talents, or interest, as well as the magic of their place, secured for them the adoration of the poets and wits, Donne, Carew, Suckling, Waller, Lovelace, Matthewes, and others, through whose flattery they are best known to us, and whose wit is living still in the cold and unexplored recesses of our libraries. Among the men of higher "caste" and lower intellect who were then Court butterflies (or caterpillars) were Lords Holland, Newport, Devonshire, Elgin, Rich, Dungarvon, Dunluce, Wharton, Paget, Saltoun; and some of worthier stamp, as the Duke of Lenox (Richmond), Lord Grandison, and Lord Fielding (Earl of Denbigh's son). Turning from the sparkling "Academie," and the treachery-brooding "chamber" of Lady Carlisle, truth, intellect, and honour, were to be found in the society of Falkland, and such friends as he gathered round him at Burford[1] and in London. I do not know that the conversation of such men as Hyde, Selden, Hales, or Chillingworth, would have had much charm for the soldier-prince at this time, but it qualified, as men of mind will ever do, the tone of general society, in which the

[1] Clarendon's Life, i. 42.

influence of a Bacon, a Raleigh, and a Burleigh, was still felt.

But there was one pleasure cultivated by the King into which Rupert entered with enthusiasm: Charles enjoyed hunting with hereditary zest, and had sacrificed to this passion the long sacred immunities of British property.[1] He enclosed Richmond Park with as little ceremony as the first Norman conqueror shewed to his Saxon slaves, for the greater conveniency of having "red as well as fallow deer" so close at hand. The hunting, whatever was its style, in England seems to have been then as now, pre-eminent; and was the attraction from which our Prince perhaps parted with the most regret. In a letter from the Rev. Mr. Garrard to Lord Wentworth, dated July, 1637, we find that, "Both the brothers (Palatine) went away unwillingly, but Prince Rupert expressed it most, for being a hunting that [very] morning with the King, he wished that he might break his neck, so he might leave his bones in England!"[2]

And beneath all this hunting, and gaiety, and grandeur, the strong slow stream of popular power was at constant work; unperceivedly, but inevitably working out its way; soon to open and swallow up the holiday-makers that now trampled gaily on its dangerous banks. Ship-money, "a sound of lasting memory in England," was first brought to trial during this visit of Prince Rupert's.

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, i. 176. [2] Strafford Papers, vol. ii. 88.

But at length, Charles roused himself to the conviction that something besides talking must be done for the Palatinate. The return of Lord Arundel from his embassy, with the usual negative results, decided the question between war and words. Austria only offered civility, and Spain promises: but the Duke of Bavaria[1] used the plain stern language of a soldier, and swore that what the sword had gained the sword should keep.[2] For eighteen years King James and Charles had been the duped victims of every succeeding king, emperor, and minister of Austria and Spain. England was now to put forth her arm in the old cause;[3] the rather perhaps that the Elector had been very busy among the Puritans, and made, in sporting phrase, a hedge against the doubtful issue of the struggle that was every day approaching.[4] In the former year (1636) an attempt had

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[1] The Duke of Bavaria had, at the period of his investiture of the Palatinates, consented to leave this arrangement in the Emperor's hands. But since then he had married, and had a son born to him, and he was determined to leave that son his possessions unimpaired. As his wife was the young Emperor's sister, his brother-in-law was little inclined to dispossess him. His marriage is thus described by my good gossip, Howell, p. 261: —"The old rotten Duke of Bavaria, for he hath divers issues about his body, hath married a young lady little above twenty, and he near upon fourscore."

[2] D'Israeli's Commentaries, iii. 429.

[3] But when she strove to do so, she found it palsied: Charles, in his letter to Lord Wentworth (Feb. 1637), deplores his inability to send troops.—*Strafford Papers.*

[4] I find this hypothesis amply borne out by Mr. Forster in the fifth volume of his "Statesmen of the Commonwealth," p. 70, &c. *See* also vol. iii. of this work.

been made to raise money for the Palatines by a sort of king's letter sent to be preached upon and collected for, through all the churches in England.[1] Subscriptions were also opened, at the head of which Lord Craven's name stood for 10,000*l.* and at the tail of it King Charles's name for the same sum. This was all he gave, perhaps all he could give, towards the expedition, save his countenance. He promised something more when a "certain treaty of Hamburg"[2] should be concluded, but the treaty and the promise both melted into air.

Charles Louis, who, to do him justice, pursued his object with earnestness and vigour, was anxious to depart for the continent. He had been furnished with so much money that his mother ventured to apply for some portion of it to pay her debts. Charles firmly refused the Queen the smallest assistance, reminding her that everything ought to be sacrificed to the elevation of the head of her family![3] Whether this circumstance or general want of sympathy between their characters estranged the brothers, I do not know, but all the letters of the Elector shew that he had but little communication with Prince Rupert. The latter was now (1637) aged eighteen, and probably took as little share in the official details

[1] One of these is to be seen among the archives of Coventry, a valuable repertory of papers for earlier dates.

[2] A convention of German Princes with the King of Denmark, to cooperate with the Palatine army.—*Benger's Queen of Bohemia*, ii. 336.

[3] Bromley gives this base and unnatural letter.

of the Palatinate expedition as his brother was willing to assign to him. He was occupied, too, about his own affairs, concerning Madagascar, of which Endymion Porter was an eager advocate, and passed much time at Court with the "Queen and her ladies and her papists." To these things the following letter seems to allude:—

FROM THE ELECTOR PALATINE TO THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

— My brother Rupert is still in great friendship with Porter; yet I cannot but commend his carriage towards me, though when I ask him what he means to do, I find him very shy to tell me his opinion. I bid him take heed he do not meddle with points of religion among them, for fear some priest or other, that is too hard for him may form an ill opinion in him.

Yr Majesty's most humble son and servant,

CHARLES.

Whitehall, this 24th May, 1637.[1]

Slight as it is, this is the only notice taken of Rupert in the course of a voluminous correspondence on the part of Charles Louis with his mother.

The next notice we have of the Palatines is contained in a letter from the Elector to his mother. It is dated "Theobalds, 30th Jan. 1636 [7], and describes the carefulness of his uncle, and the character of his Court; "the King saith he will give me an English counsel [cil] to go to sea with me; I pray God they may be understanding and honest men, for I see very few here that are both."[2]

[1] Bromley's "Royal Letters." [2] Ibid. p. 97.

Charles Louis, however, lingered in England not for this "counsel," but until his uncle's promised subscription was paid down.[1] He then departed, accompanied by Rupert, for the Hague,[2] and hastened on into Westphalia to arrange plans of cooperation with the Swedish forces under Banier and King,[3] while Rupert employed himself in raising and organising troops for the long hoped-for expedition to the Palatinate. But it was found impossible to proceed in this matter until his brother's return, so the restless young Palatine went to visit the Prince of Orange,[4] then besieging the strong town of Breda: the stadtholder was probably indebted for this visit to the siege. Prince Maurice accompanied Rupert, and with a love that was constant to his death, shared all his dangers and exploits. They found several Englishmen of future note in our own wars serving there; Monk, Astley, Goring, and many others.[5] The siege was being pressed with vigour; the defenders were resolute; Rupert revelled in dangers as in a delightful excitement, rushing into every breach that was attempted, and forward in every forlorn hope. Even whilst others rested, he was restlessly and pertinaciously hovering round the doomed city. One night, there was a pause in the almost perpetual conflict; the sol-

[1] Strafford Papers, ii. June 1637. [2] June 26. Laud's "Diary."

[3] This was a time-serving treacherous Scotsman, whom we shall find, to his discredit, presently at Flota, and afterwards in the same aspect at Marston Moor.

[4] Frederic Henry. [5] Benett MSS

diers of attack and defence both rested their wearied limbs, the besiegers in deep sleep. Rupert's watchful ear detected some sounds within the walls; now plainly audible and now so faint, that he feared to give what might have proved a false alarm. He wakened his brother Maurice, who likewise heard some doubtful sounds rising from among the red gables of the old leaguered town. The brothers moved away through the mist, and crept up the glacis so silently and so near the enemy, that they could detect the forming of troops for a sortie, and even their appointed destination. Retiring to their own camp as silently as they had left it, they hasted to Prince Frederic's quarters, and before the enemy had crossed their drawbridge, the Hollanders were drawn up in battle order to receive them.[1]

Soon after this, the Prince of Orange resolved to attack a hornwork, which commanded the town and its approaches; Monk, who served as lieutenant to Goring, was to lead the attack, which was expected to be a desperate service. For this reason, and for his mother's sake, the Prince of Orange appointed Rupert to attend him, in order to keep him from temptation. The Prince, however, having given the word to advance, Rupert anticipated the aide-de-camp, flew to the storming party, delivered the order, and flinging himself from his horse, rushed forward with the foremost to the assault. The fort

[1] Benett MSS.

was carried after desperate fighting; Wilmot and Goring were wounded, and many of their brave countrymen slain. The surviving officers flung themselves down to rest upon a rampart, while the soldiers stript the slain who lay piled around them. Suddenly up started one of the apparent corpses, naked as the spoilers had left him, and exclaimed, "Messieurs! est il point de quartier içi?" whereupon they laughed heartily, and took him to the camp, and he "bore the name of Falstaff to his dying day."[1]

Breda soon surrendered; Prince Maurice went to a French University, and Prince Rupert returned to the Hague, whither Charles Louis had now repaired.[2] They proceeded rapidly in raising their forces out of the wrecks of various armies broken up during the long war. They made Mepping,[3] in Stift Munster, their place of rendezvous, on account of its being in a friendly neighbourhood, and not far from the Swedish forces under Banier. Here they formed their little army, consisting of three regiments of cavalry, a regiment of guards, two troops

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[1] Benett MSS.

[2] There is a letter in Bromley's collection from Charles-Louis, "written from the continent," and dated August 27, 1637, which I think it right to allude to here, although, I confess, I cannot account for this statement: "Concerning my brother Rupert, the King did not seem unwilling to let him have the six thousand men, but he saith he knew not whether France would be willing to it: neither doth Cane perceive that Goring is like to have that charge."—*Bromley*, p. 93.

[3] Charles had purchased it from Colonel Kniphausen, to whom Gustavus Adolphus had given it.—*Bennett MSS.*

of dragoons,[1] and some artillery. Prince Rupert commanded one regiment of cavalry; two officers named Fereme and Loe, commanded the others with the high-sounding titles of "feldt-marshals." Lord Craven commanded the guards, and Count Conigsmark commanded the whole, if any body could be said to do so. With his usual devotion to the Queen of Bohemia's wishes, "the hero of Creuznach" had accompanied her sons in this perilous enterprize, and furnished her with constant details of their movements.

At length they took the field, and marched to Bentheim, where they were joined by a detachment of the Swedes under General King. The united forces did not exceed four thousand men, but with these, the boy-generals marched confidently to encounter the armies of the empire. Danger, imprisonment, and death, were soon to dissipate their force, but the Palatine marched on merrily. Lemgo was before them, rich in all they wanted, and poor in means of resistance. Rupert headed the advanced guard of the army, and very chivalrously, but unnecessarily, turned out of his way to "affront" the strong garrison of Rhennius.[2] The mode of affront is not recorded, but it was taken as intended, and resented by a rush of cavalry in double the Prince's force, from the city. This was an unexpected pleasure to Rupert, who dashed at his assail-

[1] Dragoons were so called, I think, from fighting both on horseback and on foot: "they had the figure of a dragon on their carbines."—*Grose.*

[2] Benett MSS.

ants with delight; his charge was resistless then, as ever; the force of five hundred men and horses, reckless as battering rams, hurled by enthusiasm against masses which every man and horse felt certain they had only to reach in order to rout—had, could have—but one result; the Palatine cavalry rode through them, over them, and almost before them to the drawbridge of the town; the survivors rushed into their refuge, and Rupert, reforming his array, resumed his line of march in triumph.

A picturesque array; accoutred in the old chivalric fashion, with plumed helmet, and bright armour over leathern doublet;[1] steel cuisses to the knee, and huge "gambadoes" armed with the large knightly spur. Tall powerful horses, such as Wouvermans has left us, stepped proudly under their caparisons; and the small "cornet," or flag, that fluttered over each troop, gave liveliness to the gleaming column as it wound along the wide plains of Hanover. The main body also consisted, for the

[1] The chiefs alone wore complete armour,* with the exception of some chosen corps, such as those of Stalhaus at Lutzen ("charge me home those black fellows," said Gustavus, "or they will spoil the day."—*Schiller*), or Sir Arthur Hazlerigg's "lobsters," who were impenetrable. Sometimes the buff-coat was worn *over* the armour; *see* note 111 to "Rokeby," and "Grose's Antiquities." London, 1801, vol. ii. p. 323. Sometimes the doublet or jerkin was of scarlet plush or velvet; *see* Mrs. Hutchinson's "Memoirs." London, 1846, p. 129. We find that Sir John Suckling's coxcomb troop wore *white* doublets. The buff-coat alone was worn in later days, being found to be sabre proof.

* I find among Lord Denbigh's papers, that an armourer charged him 13*l.* 10*s.*, "being price of an armour of proof and steel cap for his honour's own body."

most part, of cavalry, as better suited to the rapid movements by which this hazardous and romantic expedition alone could be accomplished. The few infantry belonging to the army, principally Swedes, were armed with the pike and harquebuss, or musquet, steel-cap, and corslet.[1]

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[1] The former of these were the chief reliance of the old leaders; as it has lately reappeared conspicuously in Irish and Chartist preparations for reform, its early character may have some interest. "Our foot are generally two-thirds shot and one-third pikes: the latter should be at least half, especially in England, where there are few strong places. In 1651, in the last battle we fought in Ireland, twelve hundred of the enemy's pikes charged and routed our horse. All persons of quality who put themselves voluntarily into the infantry, carry the pike as the noblest weapon. . . . . It ought to be sixteen foot and a half long [not for persons of quality, however, they 'trailed' the 'half-pike'], of seasoned ash, with iron plates to protect the lozenge-shaped head. The men, three feet apart and five deep, make an impervious body. . . . . I should much like targets. The pike-man's 'forest' being *the fortress of the field*, he should be armed with back and breast [pieces], pott and taces."* So far my Lord Orrery, "*Art of War.*" *London*, 1677, *p.* 24. Munro is still more enthusiastic in his praise of this Tipperary weapon "that niver missed fire." The disciple of Gustavus says, "This much in briefe for the pike, the most honorable of all weapons, and my choice in the day of battel: 'leaping' a storme, or entering a breach with a light breast-plate and a good head-piece, being seconded with good fellowes, I would only ask a half-pike to enter with."—*Military Discipline as Practised by the Swede*, p. 192. The harquebuss† was at this period a matchlock, or heavy musket, used in action with a rest, which was trailed, when moving, from the wrist. These rests were stuck into the ground, and, in the Swedish armies, were armed with a lance to resist cavalry. This armed rest was introduced into England, and called *Swine feathers*, from Sweyn, or Swedish. Fairfax could not abide them, and desired no quarter should be given to "the feathers."

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* Steel cap and a sort of girdle in detached pieces, hung from the waist to protect the waist and groin.

† From arcabouza: a bow with a hole in it.

At length the Palatine came in sight of Lemgo, and immediately disposed himself to reconnoitre for a siege or an assault, as the opportunity might promise. Next morning's dawn discharged him from all embarrassment of choice, for the first light played on steel-clad masses of Austrian cavalry, revealing between their squadrons a bristling line of eighteen hundred "commanded foot."[1] These, with eight regiments of cuirassiers and one regiment of Irish dragoons, "commanded by that Devereux who killed Wallstein,"[2] made a formidable appearance. It may seem strange that such a force should have been in their neighbourhood without being detected; but in the then imperfect state of discipline, and in a country wasted of its inhabitants by war, fear, and famine, even the armies of Gustavus had been surprised. Our Palatines were youthfully unsuspicious as well as fearless of danger, and the number of their volunteers rendered discipline more difficult.

Now the danger was come, they prepared to meet it gallantly. The Palatine army was composed of tough materials; grim veterans, who had fought under Wallenstein and Mansfeldt, and daring youths, who longed to flesh their maiden swords in honour. Among the latter were many English

[1] I confess I do not understand the exact meaning of this word, it is so variously applied: here the MS. seems to use it for selected men; elsewhere I find it applied to volunteers; and, in Munro's "Discipline," I find it applied to fatigue parties employed in carrying gabions and fascines at a siege.

[2] Benett MSS.

volunteers of rank, who had come from England with the young Palatines, and were now to receive under their banner a foretaste of the disasters they were to suffer afterwards under the royal standard. With such materials to give and to receive a charge, our army might fairly have withstood more numerous forces than were lowering on the hills of Flota; but the more than doubtful treachery of King,[1] and the cowardice or misconduct of Conigsmark, proved fatal.[2] The former selected a most unfavorable position; and, whilst he was there forming the infantry and artillery, Conigsmark came up with the cavalry, refused to form such a line of battle as King had arranged, and rode on to a narrow defile,[3] where he hastily drew up in four lines, allotting the first to Loe's regiment, the second to Fereme's, the third to Prince Rupert, and the fourth to himself: he was well sheltered. And but just in time; for the first of the storm was even now bursting upon the van of his preposterous array. The imperial cuirassiers, concentrating their force into one powerful column, bore down upon Loe's regiment, which unadvisedly waited to receive, instead of meeting the charge, and was borne away before it. The Austrians swept on, driving the broken Palatines on the swords of Fereme's troopers, who scarcely for a moment withstood the

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[1] "Who had sent away his baggage the night before."—*Pyne's MSS.*

[2] Lansd. MSS.

[3] Benett MSS.

iron shock, but turned and fled in wild confusion, mingling with the broken regiment's rout, and adding to the weight of the coming masses that now poured down like a flood upon the third line—Prince Rupert's horse. The Prince was already on the spur; his men were, for the most part, volunteers, and led by English chivalry,[1] and the electric spirit of his own daring shot lightning sympathy through every heart and hand. They charged, or rather dashed at, the charging enemy: their own fugitive comrades whirled past them, like the eddy of some cataract, as on they rushed, their white plumes waving like a foam, and met, and repelled, and bore down the Austrian cavalry, overwhelming all whom they encountered, and chasing the remainder resistlessly before them. Colonel Boye was despatched to look for Conigsmark, and conjure him to follow up the Prince's success, but in vain; it seemed the destiny of Rupert ever to be defeated, even while he conquered. The Prince pursued the Austrians, who suddenly were seen to halt, wheel about, and prepare to charge again, and a fresh body of imperial troops under Marshal Götz appeared supporting them. The Prince's condition was now almost desperate; he was left unsupported, his horses fatigued, and his men tenfold outnumbered. Just then, Lord Craven came up at the gallop with two troops of the Elector's guards, and renewed

[1] Amongst whom were Lords Northampton and Grandison.

the fight. Once more the Austrians charged, and forced the Palatine cavalry back, still struggling, into the defile from whence they had issued: but here they made a firm stand, repelling every attack, until a strong body of the enemy crept down the hill-side, charged the Prince's flank, and put his few remaining troops to the sword or threw them into irretrievable confusion. No thought of retreating ever occurred to the Prince's mind; he struggled onward through his enemies as fast as horse and sword could force their way, when suddenly he found himself the sole object of attack to a score of cuirassiers: he turned for a moment to cheer on his men, and found himself alone! With a desperate effort he broke through his assailants, and soon afterwards, to his surprise, found himself disregarded by the eager enemy. For a moment he was unable to account for their neglect; until he observed that the Austrians all wore a white ribbon in their helmets as the sign.[1] He had by chance adopted the same mark to render himself conspicuous to his followers, and thus passed uninjured among the hostile forces. As he rode through the confused and still struggling bands under this disguise, he observed one of the cornets, whom Lord Craven had brought up, struggling with a few gallant soldiers to defend the Elector's standard.

[1] The similarity of armour and accoutrements rendered it necessary for each party to assume some sign or symbol to distinguish them, especially when the face was guarded. *See* hereafter.

In a moment Rupert was in the *mêlée*, fighting fiercely till his last comrade fell. Then, once more bursting from his assailants, he rode at a high wall, his exhausted horse refused it, and sunk upon the ground. His pursuers rushed forward to secure him; but striking down the foremost man, he refused all quarter, and fought desperately on, until overwhelmed with numbers and borne by sheer strength to the ground.[1] Colonel Lippe struck up the visor of his helmet, and, not knowing his face, demanded who he was? "A colonel," replied the Palatine. "*Sacrémet!*" cried the grey-haired veteran, "you are a young one." Just then, General Hatzfeldt rode up; he immediately recognised his prisoner, addressed him with respect, and committed him in charge to Colonel Devereux to escort to Warrendorp.

And where were his comrades meanwhile? The gallant Craven had fallen by his side, and was a prisoner; two thousand of his bravest troops were slain in this most sanguinary field; Conigsmark had retired with his well-preserved and uninjured regiment; King had obstinately adhered (with the infantry and artillery) to the ground he had so perversely chosen; and, when the cavalry were de-

[1] If it should excite surprise how Prince Rupert could have escaped through so many hours of so deadly an affray, and survive this last deadly struggle, it is to be remembered that he was sheathed in armour from head to foot, and that desperate courage averts many a weapon. I have given the details exactly as I found them in the Benett, Pyne, and the Lansdowne MSS.

stroyed, he left the rest to take care of themselves, and fled with his worthy associate, the Elector, who had never shewn himself in the fight. These two drove off (somewhat ignobly as it sounds) in a coach, towards Minden, and, endeavouring to cross the river Weser, were carried away by the swollen stream; the driver and horses were drowned, the Elector escaped by clinging to a willow branch, and General King also saved himself, how, no one cared.[1]

Thus was the Palatine army utterly dissipated or destroyed, and its brave leader rendered prisoner to the deadliest enemy of his race. Fortunately for him, his father's enemy, Ferdinand of Gratz, had passed away with all his ambition and his schemes of vengeance, and Ferdinand III. was of a more human nature. Nevertheless, as Emperor he highly valued the possession of the daring and warlike young Palatine who had hitherto resisted all his schemes of conversion to the Imperial Creed and Court.[2] Whilst waiting for the Emperor's decision as to his future destination, Prince Rupert

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[1] Captain Pyne's MS. declares "that the wilfulness of the Elector and the treachery of King (who served him little better at Morsam Moor), lost the day."

[2] He had proposed to Elizabeth to bring up Prince Rupert at his Court, and "provide for him," if he would become a Roman Catholic. Charles of England had recommended the acceptance of this offer, and its extension to Charles Louis. The Queen rejected indignantly this scheme of apostasy, replying by a rather strong expression, "I would rather strangle my children with my own hands."

was detained at Warrendorp, where he had the melancholy satisfaction of Lord Craven's[1] company and that of some others, among whom were Colonel Fereme and Sir Richard Crane. He was allowed to despatch the latter to England to endeavour to move King Charles in his behalf; but his indulgences were limited, for "he was obliged to write his appeal on the leaf of a note-book," being denied the use of pens and paper.

In a few weeks an order arrived to transfer the Prince to the castle of Lintz, a fortress of great strength seated on the Danube. Here he was detained a prisoner for nearly three years, but was civilly treated, though "only allowed a page and two servants to attend upon him," as his biographer regretfully asserts.[2]

And while Prince Rupert lay thus buried in obscurity and silence, his young life passing by, and his spirit pining like that of a caged eagle, his mo-

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[1] No graceful fiction of knight-errantry ever exceeded the generous devotion of this gallant Earl to his unhappy Queen. For her he had abandoned a high career in England; to her service he had devoted his life, his talents, and his fortune. When the Palatinate was once more to be fought for, he sacrificed even the pleasure of enjoying her society, in order the better to deserve it, and accompanied her sons in their hopeless enterprize. And now he lies wounded, and a prisoner, and has to pay 20,000*l.* to his captors for his ransom. The strength of his passion was sublimed by its purity: he lived in noble friendship with Duke Christian of Brunswick, who, with Count Thurm and Mansfeldt, devoted himself to Elizabeth in life and death. The inscription that he bore upon his banner defied scandal to associate her name with crime:—"Alles für Gott und ihr!"

[2] Benett MSS.

ther alone made an effort for his freedom. Vain as she had hitherto found all prayers to her brother of England, she implored him now to have her son restored; she almost prevailed upon Lord Essex, then visiting the Hague, to go to the Emperor in behalf of his future foe; and she wrote earnestly to the brother in whose cause the captive had suffered, to procure even a messenger to communicate with Rupert on the means of his release. The following reply from Charles Louis betrays indifference or worse in every ignoble line. "It will be in vain," he says, "to send any gentleman to my brother Rupert without Hatzfeld's pass. Essex should have gone, because there was no one else would, neither could I force any to it, since there is no small danger in it, for any obstinacy of my brother Rupert's, or venture to escape, would put him [*i. e.* the messenger] in danger of hanging."[1]

The governor of Lintz was a brave old soldier of the Empire; he had once professed the Reformed Faith, but adopted that of the Emperor on entering his service; for this, and, it is to be hoped, for other services, Count Kuffstein stood high in the favour of the Court. To him was confided the desire of the Emperor to obtain the services of the young Palatine, and the count attempted, as a preliminary, to convert his captive. Our Prince was

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[1] This letter is dated "Hamburgh, 17 Dec. 1638."—*Bromley's Letter*, 103.

what his brother would have termed "obstinate," in his rejection of new doctrines. The count offered to let him have the society of two priests, Jesuits, who were much interested in his spiritual well-being; the Prince replied, "he would be happy to see the count's friends, provided he might also see his own;" this was refused, so he remained in solitude.[1] His firmness was soon put to a far more trying test, in the same manner as the sunshine was more successful than the rude storm against the fabled traveller's cloak.

Among the few recreations permitted to the Prince was an occasional dinner with the governor, and free access to his gardens. It was destined that his imprisonment, as well as his chivalric career, should lack nothing of the requirements of romance. Strangë as it may read in these matter-of-fact pages, Count Kuffstein had a daughter, an only, cherished child, who lived in his stern old castle, like the delicate Dryad of some gnarled tree. She was "one of the brightest beauties of her age," and rarely gifted, "no lesse excelling in the charmes of her minde than of her faire bodye."[2]

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[1] He turned his mind manfully to make the best use of his "enforced leisure:" he found a great resource in drawing and "limning," and he here perfected an instrument for drawing perspective, which he afterwards gave to the Royal Society of London. His MS. biographer admits that Albert Durer invented the principle of this machine, but he had never realized his conceptions. It argued no ordinary mind that could thus divert itself from vain regrets to philosophy and the arts.

[2] Benett MSS.

The imagination of the reader will easily supply what the faithful historian is not permitted to record. How the heroism, the misfortunes, and the noble person of her royal captive, touched her imagination:[1] how the impetuous young Prince, whose thoughts had ever fed on tales of love and glory, passed his time in that grim castle hitherto without an object, save to watch time and the old Danube rolling by: how this fair girl dawned upon his gloomy life, charged by her father to cheer her royal prisoner, and, if it might be, to win his soul over to the ancient faith. Does the reader pity him—or even her? Though soon to be forsaken, she never was forgotten in all the wild vicissitudes of his dangerous and reckless career; and to woman's foolish heart even this is something. And for him—how often, when wearied of the doomed yet charmed life he bore, must his thoughts have flown back to that fair girl: back, from the hushed ambush, or raging battle-field, or stormy seas, to those quiet and innocent days, when he listened to her loving controversy, as they stood by the antique battlements, with the old Danube rolling by!

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[1] Count Hamilton, who has left such a portrait of our Prince in his "Memoires de Grammont," looked upon him with very different eyes than those that shone over him at Lintz! When the Count wrote, his soul had been seared by all the terrible experiences of thirty years' war; but his portrait by Vandyke, at Combe Abbey, presents us with the very *idéal* of a gallant Cavalier; and Lord Kinnaird has another fine picture of him by Vandyke, while yet a boy, in which the countenance is beautiful; the "reprouvé" had not yet cast its shadow there.

We are not writing romance, but actual biography, gleaned painfully out from crabbed old manuscripts, through which her character still shines fair and purely. For those quaint old letters tell me that thenceforward "hee never named her without admiracon, and expressinge a devotion to serve her with his lyfe;" and it requires nothing more to tell me that her honour had been guarded by his own.

Nevertheless, with war resounding all around him, with so many prizes to be fought for, and so much glory to be won, Mdlle. de Kuffstein must have sometimes found it a hard task to cheer her captive in his cage. How his young spirit must have chafed as he saw glimpses of the war roll by and vanish far away. And to loose himself from this captivity, this living grave, he had but one word to utter; he had but to follow the example of the chivalrous Henry of Navarre, to profess himself a proselyte, and to be free. His royal uncle, his imperial enemy, his lady-love, his worldly interest, were all in favour of the change; his own conviction, his own brave and manly heart alone against it. Be this remembered when his many errors are recounted!

Even his prison had its incidents, and his quiet life its vicissitudes: sometimes, as armies were passing by, some happier leader, hot from his war-horse, would pay the royal prisoner a hurried visit of curiosity or condolence, and cheerily must the clank of sword and spur have sounded to his ears. One of

these visits, in the second year of his captivity, procured for him more lasting benefits: the Archduke Leopold happened to be passing through Lintz, to "beat up the quarters" of some outlying Swedes, who had been stimulated to attempt a rescue for our Prince. The Archduke paid a visit to the captive, by whom he was so favourably impressed, that thenceforth he became his firm friend. He immediately procured from the Emperor, his brother, all the indulgences compatible with the safe keeping of the Prince, who was allowed to play at "ballon" (tennis), to practise with the "skrewed gun" (the rifle), and once more to enjoy all martial exercises: finally, he was placed on parole, and allowed to leave the castle for three days at a time, hunting or visiting, as he pleased.[1] Here he "hunted the stag, the fox, and the wild roe," and probably made such efforts to move King Charles to his relief, as ultimately induced him to betake himself to his old occupation of negotiating with the Court of Vienna. It is strange, the implicit reliance this monarch and his wicked old father had on their diplomatic powers of persuasion: the unvarying defeat of every cause they ever pleaded could never for a moment shake this vanity. Rupert's family had afforded considerable scope to its exercise, and had suffered in pro-

[1] His chief place of visit seems to have been Kamur, in Upper Bavaria, belonging to Count Kevenhuller: his MS. biographer says "it was a most playsant place, and the count received him with all the honour imaginable."—*Benett MSS.*

portion. Indeed, there had been always some Palatine or other in a scrape; there was always some member of this unlucky House to be fought for, or negotiated for, or contributed for, or married,[1] or released from prison.[2] In the present exigence, Sir Thomas Roe, who had grown grey in Palatine puzzles and Stuart diplomacy, was despatched from England to negotiate for the young Palatine's release;[3] but this was no summary proceeding, and, meanwhile, fresh troubles awaited him at Lintz. As time rolled on, the Emperor of his own accord began to relent towards his captive, and perhaps only desired an excuse to be rid of him: he made a formal offer of release to the Prince, if he would only "ask pardon of the Emperor for his crime." This, Prince Rupert refused to do, alleging that, so far from committing a crime, he had simply done his duty. When this reply was reported to the Emperor, the old Duke of Bavaria was at Vienna, and he so exasperated his imperial brother-in-law by his representations against the Palatine, that Ferdinand

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[1] We have seen the result of Charles' wooing for his nephew; he negotiated a marriage for Rupert's sister, Elizabeth, with Ladislaus of Poland, which was equally abortive.—See Racouski's Embassy, *Court and Times*, ii. 128.

[2] Prince Philip was forced to fly from Holland for the murder of Epinay: he gave great sorrow to his mother, and some trouble to Charles.

[3] The Countess de Lewenstein thus writes from the Hague on the 24th Nov.: "I hope by the solicitation of Sir Thomas Roe we shall have our sweet Prince Rupert here: he hath been long a prisoner."—*Fairfax Correspondence*, i. 322.

recalled his privilege of parole, and all other indulgences. Thenceforth our hero was a close prisoner, debarred from his tennis and his "skrewd gunn," and even from Mademoiselle de Kuffstein's society. Instead of her gentle presence, "twelve mousqueteers and two halberds" watched night and day over that beardless boy in that strong castle.

Still, youth and its hope triumphed over persecution. Debarred from all human society, the Prince made friends of a "beautiful white dogge[1] and a hare." The former was given to him by Lord Arundell, and was "of a breede so famous that the Grand Turk gave it in particular injunction to his ambassador to obtaine him a puppie thereof." It is curious to observe this daring and restless man amusing himself by teaching a dog that discipline he himself could never learn, and inducing a hare to

[1] This "dogge" was afterwards renowned in English civil and controversial warfare. It followed the Prince through many a bloody field uninjured, but was killed at Marston Moor, to the great joy of the Puritans, who, half in jest, asserted that it was Prince Rupert's familiar spirit. There is a curious and half unintelligible pamphlet in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, called "Observations on Prince Rupert's dogge, called Boye." London, 1642. It is very witty, but with what object it was written I know not. It says of this "dogge," that "it trotted up and down toward the east end of the church, where there is a great painted window above and an altar below, *both which (with the rayles) make one great idoll.*" . . . . . "I have kept a very strict eye upon this dogge, whom I cannot conclude to be a very downright divell, but some Lapland ladye, once by nature a handsome white ladye, but now by art a handsome white dogge. . . . . They have many times attempted to destroy it by poyson and extempore prayer, but they hurt him no more than the plague plaister did Mr. Pym," &c. We are told that the mother's name was "Puddle!" *query, Poodle,* which it seems to have been.

lay aside that fear towards him that he inspired so widely even among brave men. "This hare used to follow him about, and do his bidding with docility," having discovered in this wild soldier some touch of the same gentle nature that its fellow found in the poet Cowper.

One word more, as our story is in gentle mood, about the lady of Lintz. She never saw her prisoner now; but she knew that he bore his privations with the fortitude and steady courage that never forsook him at any moment of his life. Our biographer[1] adds, that "the bravery of meene and the misfortunes of our Prince made farre more sensible impressions on her than on her father,"—a fact which will scarcely excite much surprise in modern days. But it seems that woman's influence was then still the same; for we find that the tough old man, who held it as sheer obstinacy that the Prince would neither follow Emperor nor Pope, relaxed at length; "his daughter's sweetnesse having infused more affability into him towards his prisoner." It is unnecessary to say that Rupert often meditated escape; but sometimes his parole, and at other times the "twelve mousketeers and two halberds," rendered it impossible.

At length new events occurred, which brought a powerful friend once more to his assistance. The Swedes, combining with the French, again prepared

[1] Benett MS.

to attack Lintz; and by this means they indirectly accomplished the release of Rupert. The Archduke was again sent to defend the town of Lintz; and he not only did so, but retaliated on the allies their intended surprise, and utterly defeated them. During his occupation of the castle he renewed his friendship with the Prince; and when he returned to Vienna, he resumed his efforts, backed by his claims for successful service, to obtain his friend's release. Other causes at the same time contributed to counteract the Duke of Bavaria's influence against the Prince. His story began to be noised abroad through Europe; it had made an impression on the Empress, who besieged the Emperor's private ear, as the English ambassador his public attention, in the cause of the young captive. Sir Thomas Roe had received orders to press this suit, for the King of England began to wish that his gallant kinsman were near, as he saw the great struggle for his kingdom was approaching. The Prince was the only person who was connected with him by blood, and yet pure from political intrigue; moreover, he was well experienced in military affairs, then much neglected from long disuse, in England; and, above all, the young Palatine had no patriotic scruples to qualify his allegiance, or to narrow his services. In addition to all these advocates, Prince Rupert had a powerful ally in the person of Count Lesley, who had known him when in England, and who was now high in the Emperor's favour, and Rupert's steady

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friend.[1] Against this array of advocates there was one opponent, but she was a woman, and the German proverb says, "a woman's hair can draw more than a yoke of oxen." The Duchess of Bavaria went on her knees to the Emperor to deprecate young Rupert's freedom; and for a time she prevailed. The Empress[2] then was roused, not only as to her compassion, but her jealousy; she pleaded with ardour, and at length obtained her suit.[3]

There was some delay in the Prince's delivery from his prison: it was stipulated that he should never fight against Ferdinand, and to this he demurred, as considerably narrowing his field of future action, seeing that almost all Europe was opposed to the Empire. However, Charles, when referred to, insisted that the promise should be given; and so at length it was. Colonel Lesley cannily desired to have this promise in writing, and the Prince indignantly agreed: "'but,' sayd hee, 'if it is to bee a

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[1] Perhaps the same Lesley, a colonel who we find left Charles I.'s service in 1633, "because the King would not lord him."—*Howell*, p. 216. There was another Colonel Lesley in the Swedish service.—*Sir P. Warwick*, 107.

[2] This was the Infanta of Spain, the former and first passion of our Charles. Is it possible that she felt a secret pleasure in promoting the wishes of a man by whom she was once wooed?

[3] We have in the Benett MS. a confused story about a proposed exchange of our Prince for Prince Casimer (brother of Ladislaus, King of Poland, who was then wooing Rupert's sister, Elizabeth,) "and John de Wirt, an imperiall generall. But Sir Thomas Roe objected that none but the Archduke (the Emperor's brother) was a fitt exchange for the King of England, his nephew;" an etiquette that, however flattering, was awkward for Prince Rupert, as the Archduke was *not a prisoner*.

lawyer's business, let them look well to the wording.' Whereupon they preferred his paroll, and he gave his hand upon it to the Emperour."[1]

Thenceforth the Emperor lavished favours on him, and once more endeavoured to win him over to his service; we are even told[2] that the fairest ladies of the Court were employed in the task of persuasion, yet they prevailed not; perhaps some memories connected with the old Castle of Lintz, other than his imprisonment there, saved his soft heart from their influence. At length a direct offer was made to him of command against the French and Swedes, leaving him to cling to what creed he pleased. He replied, "that he receaved the proposall rather as an affront than a favour, and that he would never take armes against the champions of his father's cause." Independently of this scruple (which was afterwards waived when he fought against the Dutch,[3]) Prince Rupert possessed a certain military

[1] There was a difficulty (of etiquette) about keeping the Prince prisoner, until the moment when he kissed the Emperor's hand, in token of manumission. In order to obviate his being taken under a guard to Vienna, Sir Thomas Roe suggested that he should make use of one of his "three days' paroll" to meet the Emperor (who was then hunting near Lintz), as if by accident. It so happened that the Emperor's attendants roused a majestic boar, which, after a long chase, stood so fiercely at bay, that no one cared to approach it. Suddenly a young sportsman arrived, paused not a moment, rushed in upon the animal; it died upon his spear. Just then the Emperor rode up, and held out his hand to the brave hunter: to the surprise of all, he kissed it, and was free. It was the Prince.

[2] Benett's MS.

[3] And we might say against Essex, who was twice in arms for the Palatinate.

simplicity of purpose, which held him faithful to the service of King Charles. To his cause, the CAUSE OF THE CAVALIERS, he had vowed devotion when a boy, and in that cause, unswervingly, he lived and died.

After this decided rejection of the Emperor's offers, the Prince found little difficulty in obtaining his passport. His royal uncle of England had already intimated to him "that in the event of warre he should be verie wellcome to him;" and the state of affairs in England seemed to prove that the hour of such "wellcome" was almost arrived. An invitation from King Charles had lately reached him, and it came in good time. His career was now to be begun; and where under such favourable auspices as in the fair fields of England, already well known to him as the scene of many a daring feat in "war's mimic game." Even his mother approved of his devoting himself to a cause which *he* could not question the justice of, and which gratitude as well as inclination enjoined him to embrace.

His course being thus decided upon, Prince Rupert took leave of the Emperor, and received at parting a friendly hint not to pass through the dominions of Bavaria. He went first to Prague, to revisit the scenes of his father's brief glory and lasting sorrow, and then proceeded to Saxe, where the Elector made him his guest, and treated him with great ceremony. On the day of his arrival he was welcomed by a banquet, which was followed by one

of those vehement drinking bouts in which the Germans had attained such evil eminence.[1]

"Our Prince, alwaies temperate, soon left the table, to the astonishment of the Germans. 'What *shall* we do with him," said the Elector, 'if he won't drink? let us make a hunting for him.'" So he hunted; and no doubt with much greater satisfaction. From Saxe he proceeded to the Hague, where he embraced his mother after three years' absence and imprisonment.[2]

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[1] Howell thus describes a state reception to the ambassador, whom he accompanied:—"The King of Denmark feasted my Lord Leycestre from eleven in the morning. He gave thirty-five healths; the first to the Emperor, the second to the King of England (his nephew); then all the Kings and Queens of Christendom, but omitted the King of Bohemia [in whose cause the ambassador had come to his Court]. 'The King was taken away in his chair, but when two of the guards came to carry my Lord Leycestre, he shook them off, and walked away stoutly."—p. 236.

[2] His brother Charles, who had been so indifferent about his brother's fate, had lately shared it. We subjoin his story, to have done with it:—"In the month of July, 1639, the Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine came into England, designing, by his Majesty's assistance, to obtain the command of the army of Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, then lately deceased. The King was very willing to serve the interest of that Prince, in order to the regaining of his ancient patrimony, and moved it to the French ambassador, proposing a perpetual league between France and the Prince, in consideration of the French assistance. The ambassador was pleased with this proposition, and assured the King that his master and Cardinal Richelieu would approve it; but the latter becoming suspected in the English court as a fomenter of the Scotch rebellion, it was thought more advisable for the Prince to go incognito through France to the army, who, upon his appearance, it was thought, would receive him as their general, than to trust to the sincerity of Richelieu, or the delays of a treaty. Accordingly, he took his journey, and passed disguised through France to Lyons, where he was discovered and

The Prince of Orange, too, welcomed his old favourite warmly, and entered into his views with respect to England zealously and kindly. The aspect of affairs there was very gloomy; the King had been for years in negotiation, as it were, with his parliament; each party had now reached what it considered the utmost limits of forbearance, and nothing remained but the first act of hostility to serve instead of the mere form of declaring war. The King was at Dover, (Feb. 23rd, 1642,) escorting his queen so far on her way to Holland, whither she had in fact escaped from the Parliament, who wanted an excuse to prevent her departure. Her real object—that of seeking foreign assistance, and raising money on the crown jewels to support the crown—was well known. Every thought of hers, indeed, was transparent to her enemies by means of the political ladies of her Court; especially by means of the arch-traitress Lady Carlisle, whom she trusted with implicit infatuation. Her ostensible object in visiting Holland, was to introduce her daughter Mary to her affianced husband, William, the young and gallant Prince of Orange.[1]

When Prince Rupert reached Dover,[2] he found

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made prisoner, a strict guard being for some time put upon him by the French King, who interpreted this proceeding, whilst he was in treaty with him, to be some ill design against his crown and dominion."—*Nalson's Collection*, vol. i. p. 57. London, 1682.

[1] Already distinguished at Hulst: he was seventeen years old; his affianced bride only twelve, afterwards our Queen.

[2] The MS. says, "He did then very ill brook the sea."

that the King, if not still hopeful to prevent the war, had at least taken no steps to meet it: he was therefore very desirous to avoid any appearances that might be construed into such a design. Every man in England, nevertheless, knew that civil war was lurking at his threshold, however startled afterwards to find himself in the actual presence of the demon.

Prince Rupert found an affectionate welcome from his uncle; nevertheless, as pacific professions were still maintained, he deemed it advisable to return to Holland under the appearance of escorting the queen.[1] Her majesty waited some days for a fair wind, during which time intrigue was busy, and place-hunters were making desperate efforts.[2] On the 25th of February the Queen embarked on board the "Lyon," commanded by Captain Fox; the States having sent the gallant Van Tromp with twenty ships of war to escort her to their shores; on the 28th she landed at Helvoetsluys, and proceeded to the Court of Prince Frederic Henry, whence Rupert returned to the Hague.

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[1] There is a curious passage in one of my MSS. concerning a "person of greate quallity," which allusion is explained in another MS. to apply to the Duke of Hamilton. It runs thus:—"A person of greate quallity and much interest with the King askt his Highnesse what he intended to do. To whom the Prince made answer that he would only return to Holland with ye Quéene. 'You are the wiser,' saies the other, discoursing the matter so suspiciously with the King, that his Highnesse gave the King a necessary caution concerning him."—*Benett MS.*

[2] Clar. Reb. ii. 263.

If Henrietta Maria had hitherto displayed the hereditary wilfulness and levity of Mary of Medicis, she now emulated the energy and talent of Henry of Navarre. In all England the King could not have found a man capable of performing what this unassisted woman accomplished. France stood aloof, not sorry to see the power of England divided against itself, and Richelieu left the sister of his sovereign to beg from strangers, and to feel herself an exile from her native land. Papist and Royal as she was, the Queen found a Protestant republic very slow to listen to the voice of her charming; the public sympathies of the Dutch were all with the Parliament, and though their private interests induced them to deal with the Queen, they satisfied their consciences by "bargaining like Turks"[1] for everything they gave.[2] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the Queen succeeded in raising considerable sums, and a good supply of arms for the King. And it was full time. The King had left London for the north, and was only hesitating *where* he should

[1] Lilly's "Life and Times;" Masere's "Tracts." What Mr. Canning calls "the irrepressible energies of commerce" have never been so energetically displayed as by the Dutch. King Louis Napoleon found it impossible to please his Imperial brother by enforcing the Berlin decree in Holland:—"Empechez donc la peau de transpirer," was his excuse. The most whimsical result of this commercial instinct was exhibited in the siege of one of their own seaports by the French; when the Dutch actually supplied ships to carry stores to their enemies!

[2] The Prince of Orange gave his best assistance and his sympathies; but his own power in Holland was by no means well secured, and he could not afford to use compulsion towards the States.

raise that standard, which he had as yet scarcely an armed soldier to defend.

The Queen sent for Prince Rupert to the Hague, announced to him that the King designed for him the "Generalship of his Horse," and enjoined him to proceed to England instantly with such supplies as she had then prepared. These were placed in a small vessel belonging to the King, and the Prince himself embarked in the "Lyon," but had scarcely put to sea when a gale of wind drove him back to the Texel, and at the same time sent the store-ship ashore, where her cargo was saved with difficulty. Prince Rupert hastened to lay his condition before the stadtholder, who generously gave him a frigate of forty-six guns for his own conveyance, and a galliot for his stores. During the delay thus caused, Prince Maurice obtained permission to join his brother, and henceforth affectionately followed him during the remainder of his brief existence.

At length the Princes sailed for England, Lord Digby being on board the galliot.[1] The wind was fair, and the "seas contributed to the designes of the Prince, yet his mind went faster than his vessell, and the zeale he had speedily to serve his majestye, made him think diligence itself was lazy."[2] Having nar-

[1] This clever and unlucky man, one of Charles' chief favourites, had been some time in England: he spread a report (which deceived the MS. writer) that he had come in this store-ship.—*Clar. Reb.* iii. 168.

[2] Lans. MS., which here breaks off, having done our story at intervals good service. It was evidently written by some person

rowly escaped the Parliamentary cruizers off Flamborough Head, they reached Tynemouth in safety. Hence they rode post for Nottingham, Daniel O'Neale, Somerset, Fox, and others being of their company. It was evening when they landed, but Rupert was not a man to wait upon the morning, and immediately calling for horses, he set forth. It was in the month of August, but as his evil destiny would have it, there came on a sharp frost, and his horse slipping in the dark, the Prince was thrown with violence and dislocated his shoulder. There happened to be a "bone-setter" living within half a mile of where he fell, and the limb was set, but it was three days[1] before Prince Rupert was able to resume his journey.[2] When he reached Nottingham he found that the King had gone to Coventry;[3] so, mounting again, he followed him. Before he had gone far, however, he learned that the King was at

intimate with, or attendant on the Prince, and seems to have been written from time to time, as conversation brought old facts to light.

[1] Three hours, one MS. says.

[2] The "bone-setter" refused to take more than half the fee the Prince offered him. It is pleasant to trace back this trait of humble honour through two hundred years.

[3] An occurrence is here related by the MSS. which, as it gives a striking picture of the poverty of the King's resources, ought not to be omitted. Prince Rupert had scarcely arrived at Nottingham, when "Lord Digby, the governor, came to him, saying he had received a dispatch from the King (who was then before Coventry), asking for two petards, a word which he could not understand. The Prince hastily proceeded to examine 'the arsenal' [as it was called by courtesy], but no petard was to be found. At length Colonel Legge got two apothecaries' mortars, which they adapted to that purpose, and sent off post to the King."

Leicester Abbey,[1] where the Prince joined him, and received charge of the royal cavalry, consisting of eight hundred horse! The next day, being the 22nd day of August, they proceeded to Nottingham, where the ROYAL STANDARD WAS THEN SET UP.[2] [3]

It was a dismal ceremony:[4] all external ap-

[1] Holling's "History of Leicester."

[2] Here the Benett MS. breaks off until "our Prince" leaves England in 1646: then, resuming its details, it follows him through all his privateering and corsair career, until he returns to England at the Restoration. There it ends.

[3] It is remarkable that this memorable epoch is uncertain: Lord Clarendon (who witnessed the ceremony), and May, the Parliamentary historian, say the standard was set up on the 25th of August. Ludlow and Bulstrode say it was on the 24th; M. Guizot says the 23rd; and Rushworth and Lilly maintain it was on the 22nd. I have assigned the latter date on the following grounds. In the Journal of the House of Commons of the 24th, we find that intelligence had already been received that the standard was set up, that there had been deliberations founded on that transaction, and in which it was agreed that Essex was to take the command of the Parliamentary forces; secondly, there is a curious pamphlet, belonging to Dr. Bandinel, of the Bodleian Library, which purports to furnish a "likenesse" of the standard, and was published at the time; it gives the 22nd as the date: thirdly, my own MS., which I may be allowed to trust to in some degree, gives this same date. The probability is, that the standard was first raised on the 22nd, and continued to wave over Nottingham until the 26th.

[4] The first standard that was ever raised within the bowels of this kingdom [for Scotland and Wales were of old considered "aliens"] was in the third year of King Richard III., 1483, at a place called Redmore, near Bosworth, where he pitched his tents in the open fields, called all his soldiers together, and declaring the cause of his taking up arms and the setting up of his standard, which was against Henry Earl of Richmond, encouraging them to stand to him now or else never. Then King Richard, having set up his standard, which was formerly sent him out of the Tower of London, and brought to him by Sir Thomas Brackenbury, Lieutenant of the Tower, whom he appointed his chief standard-bearer, together with Sir T. Bouchier and Sir Walter Hungerford, knights and gentlemen in whom the King

pearances contributed to deepen the gloom that pervaded every mind,—every mind except young Rupert's, whose daring spirit found in difficulties only fresh sources of excitement. His presence at the little Court of Nottingham infused new life and confidence among the drooping followers of the King. Charles himself, harassed by timorous and conflicting counsels, found relief in the prompt, vigorous, and decisive character of his nephew. Young as he was, he alone of the royal counsellors had experience in military affairs; his youth and natural daring made him reckless of the obstacles so formidable to cabinet men: they only knew that the Parliament had money at command, and all the munitions of war,—the King, nothing but a doubtful cause. Prince Rupert not only then, but throughout the war, was most useful to that cause, by inspiring

had a good affiance and trust. The standard being set up in great state, and well guarded, the whole country, being much displeased because the King would make it the seat of war, brake out and declared by certain papers which were scattered and thrown about the army, what they had heard of by ancient records, that if any King doth proclaim war and set up his standard within his owne kingdom, and against his owne people and nation, not having any just occasion, but only a rash humour and desire for vengeance, and not having any affront given by foreign Princes, nor his land invaded by any foreign forces, upon the setting up of any such standard, 1st, that the lawe itself seases to be of any force; 2nd, that all prisoners whatsoever, that lay in custody upon any suit of war or execution, contempt or any other decree, were presently freed, and the doores of the prison thrown open; 3rd, that such a King ought to be dispossessed and his throne bestowed upon an other; 4th, neither he, nor any of his posterity, should have any right or succession to the crown and dignity.—*Pamphlet in possession of Dr. Bandinel, Bodleian, Oxford.*

the confidence that he felt, and by a soldierlike simplicity of purpose, more difficult to baffle or to cope with, than all the wiles of Machiavelli.

Prince Rupert was now nearly twenty-three. His portraits present to us the ideal of a gallant cavalier. His figure, tall, vigorous, and symmetrical, would have been somewhat stately, but for its graceful bearing and noble ease. A vehement, yet firm, character predominates in the countenance, combined with a certain gentleness, apparent only in the thoughtful, but not pensive, eyes. Large, dark, and well-formed eyebrows, overarch a high-bred, Norman nose: the upper lip is finely cut but somewhat supercilious in expression; the lower part of the mouth and chin have a very different meaning, and impart a tone of iron resolution to the whole countenance. Long flowing hair (through which, doubtless, curled the romantic "love-lock") flowed over the wide embroidered collar, or the scarlet cloak: he wore neither beard nor moustaches, then almost universal; and his cheek, though bronzed by exposure, was marked by a womanly dimple. On the whole, our Cavalier must have presented an appearance as attractive in a lady's eye, and as unlovely in a Puritan's, as Vandyke ever immortalized.[1] Such was the aspect of the

[1] De Grammont, or rather Hamilton, has left us a lively portrait of this prince, but dark and satirical as gall could make it. The witty and sensual coxcomb had probably an instinctive antipathy to the uncompromising and almost ascetic soldier. I have transcribed his words in the third volume. At the time it was drawn,

young Palatine, who won for himself a name so renowned in the tradition of our Civil Wars, yet so uncertain in their history. He is now riding side by side with his royal kinsman to Nottingham, on the way to the opening scene of the great tragedy. By the aid of old writings, and still more by the aid of old prints and pictures, we may bring the group of warlike travellers before our eyes, and behold the scenes they saw. A strong wind was sweeping over the wide valley of the Trent, then unenclosed by fences, and only marked at wide intervals by some low, strong farm-houses, with innumerable gables. In the distance, boldly relieved against the stormy sky, rose the stern old castle of Nottingham; a flag-staff, as yet innocent of the fatal standard, was visible on its highest tower. Long peace and security had invested the country round with a very different aspect from that which Rupert had lately seen in Germany. A prosperous peasantry were gathering in a plentiful harvest:[1] there were no symptoms

Prince Rupert had had experience of nearly half a century of such perils, privations, and vicissitudes on land and sea, as have seldom been concentrated in a single life. The best portraits of the Prince that I am acquainted with are in the possession of Lord Kinnaird at Rossie Priory, Lord Craven at Combe Abbey, and Sir Robert Bromley at Stoke Park. The first, by Vandyke, was taken apparently at the Hague, when he was about eleven years of age; the second, also by Vandyke, about the period of his first visit to England, and the last (as in the frontispiece) was painted by Sir Peter Lely after the Restoration.

1 There was a "very bountiful harvest" this year (Clarendon), and, indeed, a succession of them, until 1673. The labourer must have lived in comfort, as he received (at least in 1661), a shilling a day, with food, or one shilling and eightpence without it, for

anywhere of the approaching war, until the royal cavalcade passed by. The greater part of the Prince's cavalry was there, endeavouring to make an imposing appearance; but they were scantily furnished with the bas'net (or steel cap), and the back and breast plate, over leathern doublet, that then formed the essential harness of a trooper; for arms, they had nothing but their swords.[1] The equipment of their King and their young general was almost as simple: the plumed hat of the time was only laid aside on the day of battle, and not always then, by the reckless Rupert:[2] a short cloak (the Prince's was of scarlet cloth) and large cavalry boots almost enveloped the remainder of the person: a slender train of heralds and pursuivants, and some gentlemen-at-arms, complete the cavalcade. Such was the royal progress to the head-quarters of the Cavaliers.

Never had the King's destiny appeared so dark. On the preceding day Coventry had closed her gates against him, and fired upon his flag: Leicester was

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reaping, and nearly as much for mowing.—*Eccleston's Antiq.* Evelyn says, the peasants were "so saucy that they would eat nothing but the finest wheaten flour. Baillie tells us that in Northumberland, and on the Borders, the Covenanters could buy a quarter of lamb for fourpence, wheat was under forty-four shillings a quarter; in 1685 it was only twenty-seven shillings and sevenpence. I find two bulls and three heifers valued at 8*l.* See vol. ii.

[1] Clar. Reb. iii. 194.

[2] The subject of armour and costume, no inconsiderable items in military history, are spoken of more fully at the muster of the King's army in Shrewsbury, Volume II. The great Sutherland edition of Clarendon, in the Bodleian Library, is rich in the costumes and even landscapes of that time.

only held to his cause by Wilmot's cavalry: his appeal to his people had been hitherto made in vain. Some few of the chief Cavaliers, indeed, had obeyed his summons; but the peasants, the yeomen, and even the soldiers of fortune, still stood aloof, or looked wistfully towards the Parliament. Nottingham as yet afforded a rallying point for his few adherents, and a shelter to his council, but the very country he was passing through was hostile, and the High-sheriff Digby could scarcely assemble sufficient "trayn-bands" to furnish the appearance of a royal guard.

Yet the day was come, the eventful day appointed for the Raising of the Standard, and Charles did not hesitate in his purpose. His character henceforth displayed far more firmness than hitherto: his better nature, although reserved, was dauntless, enduring, and even sanguine. He believed himself to be an injured and outraged King, and that he was about to appeal most righteously to the God of battles.

Meanwhile the little town of Nottingham was filled with thousands of curious spectators from the country round about. The day passed on without tidings of the King, or any token of the approaching ceremony: only that from time to time some Cavaliers arrived, their armour and gay caparison dimmed and disfigured by the storm. The foremost of these devoted men had already bidden a long farewell to the homes now desolate, yet glorying in their departure.

At length the royal banner was seen advancing across the plain. As the King drew near, a pro-

found melancholy was observed upon his countenance; Hyde and his brother counsellors of peace watched it anxiously, but were soon disabused of the hope that such sadness betokened any altered purpose. The Council immediately assembled in the dilapidated hall of the old castle, and the King's determination was declared by his own lips, in such terms as precluded all remonstrance. The standard was to be raised forthwith; that irrevocable challenge to a powerful people in their wrath! and the challenger was a powerless King, without troops, revenue, or apparent resources. His only hope lay in the national loyalty he had once so severely tried, and in the chivalry of the few faithful Cavaliers who then surrounded him.

All matter of debate was now postponed, and the King proceeded to the momentous ceremony of the day. At once the fatal Standard was unfurled from a high eminence within the park; its broad folds waving over the warlike group below. The King stood upon a grassy knoll; a herald by his side then read the proclamation, with a voice almost inaudible in the storm; but that officer had scarcely begun, when the King, with characteristic indecision, took the paper from his hand, and made such alterations that the herald blundered inauspiciously through the remainder of his task. The few spectators shouted "God save the King!" and, night coming on, put an end to the dismal ceremony.[1]

1 The standard was then removed to the highest tower in the castle,

The next morning no standard was to be seen; it had been blown down during the night; the King ordered it to be removed to a commanding station in the park, observing that "before, it looked as if imprisoned." But a fatality seemed still to attend upon that standard; the ground was so hard that the heralds were obliged to use their daggers in order to plant it in the unwilling soil, and even then, four men were compelled to support it through the ceremony.[1] Again the proclamation was read, and for four successive days the broad standard of England streamed out upon an unceasing storm, with the blood-red battle-flag above.[2]

The signal caught the eye of many a group of gallant men, who were then advancing across the valley to join that standard, and to live or die be-

[1] The likeness of King Charles I.'s standard:—"It is much of the fashion of the City streamers, used at the Lord Mayor's show, having about twenty supporters, and is to be carried after the same way; *on the top of it hangs a bloody flag.* The King's arms, quartered with a bloody hand pointing to the crowne, which stands above with this motto,—'Give Ceasar his due.' The names of those Knights Bannerets who were appointed to bear the standard, viz. the cheefe was Sir Thomas Brookes, Sir A. Hopton, Sir Francis Wortley, and Sir Robert Doddington. Likewise there was three troope of horse appointed to waite upon the standard, and to beare the same backwards and forwards, with about six hundred foot soldiers, beside great number of horse and foot, in all to the number of two thousand, who came more to see the manner of the thing than any ways to offer assistance to his Majesty, as did afterward too evidently appear."—*Setting up of the Royal Standard*, 1642.

[2] At first the expectation of the Parliament that the King would never be able to raise an army, seemed likely to be verified. During four days the standard was displayed at Nottingham, and almost in vain. Only thirty of the "trayned bands"

neath its shadow. Few they were, but they represented tens of thousands who lingered in blessed peace among their homes as long as peace was possible, yet started forth in battle armour as soon as the summons of the trumpet reached them. Their hearts might not be all at ease as to the clear justice of their cause, but it seemed, doubtless, the less evil alternative: old and honourable prejudices, ancient associations, chivalrous honour, reckless and desperate loyalty, drew them to their King. How mournful that such devotion should have been so tried—and so rewarded!

In illustration of the romantic sentiments then prevalent among the Cavaliers, I cannot refrain from quoting the following letter. It was written about this time by the heroic Sir Beville Grenville, and expresses in his own brave words the thought of thousands.

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came forward to offer themselves, and they were ungraciously rejected for their absent comrades' fault. At this time the enemy might, Sir Jacob Astley said, have seized the King at any hour; but the enemy was far too subtle to do so.

The above details are taken from old pamphlets in Dr. Bandinel's Collect. Bodleian Library; Clar. "Reb." vol. iii. pp. 188, &c.; and "Life," i. 134; Bulstrode, p. 71, &c.; Lilly's "Life and Times," in Maseres' "Tracts," p. 176; Lord Nugent's "Life of Hampden," vol. ii. p. 160; Forster's "Statesmen of the Commonwealth," and M. Guizot's "Revolution d'Angleterre," t. 1, p. 256. Lord Clarendon's account differs in many respects from the pamphlets and publications that enter into the particulars of the transaction: but these last, however ephemeral, are more likely to be accurate than Lord Clarendon, on trifling points, concerning which he did not write until years after. The subject is resumed at the end of the following chapter.

FROM SIR BEVILL GRENVIL TO SIR JOHN TRELAWNEY.

M° Hon. S^r,

I have in many kinds had trial of your nobleness, but in none more than in this singular expression of your kind care and love. I give also your excellent lady humble thankes for respect unto my poor woman, who hath been long a faithful much obliged servant of your Lady's. But Sir, for my journey, it is fixed. I cannot contain myself within my doors when the King of England's standard waves in the field upon so just occasion—the cause being such as must make all those who die in it little inferior to martyrs. And, for mine own, I desire to acquire an honest name or an honourable grave. I never loved my life or ease so much as to shun such an occasion, which if I should, I were unworthy of the profession I have held, or to succeed those ancestors of mine, who have so many of them in several ages sacrificed their lives for their country. Sir, the barbarous and implacable enemy (notwithstanding His Majesty's gracious proceedings with them), do continue their insolencies and rebellion in the highest degree, and are united in a body of great strength; so as you must expect, if they be not prevented and mastered near their own homes, they will be troublesome in yours and in the remotest places ere long. I am not without the consideration (as you lovingly advise) of my wife and family; and as for her, I must acknowledge she hath ever drawn so evenly in her yoke with me, as she hath never prest before or hung behind, nor ever opposed or resisted my will. And yet truly I in this or any thing else endeavoured to walk in no way of power with her but of reason; and though her love will submit to either, yet truly my respect will not suffer me to urge her with power, unless I can convince with reason. So much for that, whereof I am willing to be accountable unto so good a friend. I have no suit unto you in mine own behalf but for your prayers and good wishes, and that, if I live to come home again, you

would please to continue me in the number of your servants. And so I beseech God to send you and your noble family all health and happiness, and while I live I am, Sir,

Yr unfay. lov and fai. serv. B. G.[1]

As a pendant to this, I subjoin Lord Clarendon's memorable conversation with Sir Edmund Varney: between these two different, yet not discordant testimonies, we may understand the state of feeling in the King's small camp.

Mr. Hyde was often wont to relate a passage in that melancholick time, when the standard was set up at Nottingham, with which he was much affected. Sir Edmund Varney, Knight Marshal, who was mentioned before as standard-bearer, with whom he had great familiarity, who was a man of great courage and generally beloved, came one day to him and told him, "He was very glad to see him, in so universal a damp under which the spirits of most men were oppressed, retain still his natural vivacity and cheerfulness; that he knew that the condition of the King, and the power of the Parliament was not better known to any man than to him, and therefore he hoped that he was able to administer some comfort to his friends, that might raise their spirits, as well as it supported his own. * * * * He (Sir Edmund Varney) replied smiling, "I will willingly join with you the best I can, but I shall act it very scurvily. My condition," said he, "is much worse than yours, and different I believe from any other man's, and will very well justify the melancholick that I confess to you possesses me. You have satisfaction in your conscience that you are in the right; that the King ought not to grant what is required of him; and so you do your duty and your business together.

[1] Among Lord Carteret's papers, discovered by the Bishop of Llandaff: quoted by Lord Nugent.

But for my part, I do not like the quarrel, and do heartily wish that the King would yield and consent to what they desire; so that my conscience is only concerned in honour and in gratitude to follow my master. I have eaten his bread, and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake him, and choose rather to lose my life (which I am sure I shall do) to preserve and defend those things, which are against my conscience to preserve and defend. For I will deal freely with you, I have no reverence for the Bishops for whom this quarrel subsists." It was not a time to dispute; and his affection to the Church had never been suspected. He was as good as his word, and was killed in the battle of Edge-hill, within two months after this discourse.[1]

Before entering into the details of the Civil War, it seems necessary to take a brief review of the events that produced it; of the means by which the Parliament attained to its exorbitant power; of the origin of the Cavaliers, and the formation of the armies that are about to engage. The course of these events was guided by the best and ablest men in England of that period, and has been illustrated by the greatest historians of our own. I do not think that a brief summary of the most important historical events will be importunate, especially as it seems indispensable to the elucidation of these Memoirs, and their far more valuable letters.

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[1] "Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon," vol. i. p. 134. Oxford 1761.

CHAPTER III.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS PRECEDING THE WAR.

PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLE. ROYAL ENCROACHMENTS; THEIR RESULT. PARLIAMENTARY ENCROACHMENTS; THEIR RESULT. SCOTCH CAMPAIGNS. LONG PARLIAMENT. ARMY PLOT. CAVALIER AND ROUNDHEAD DENOMINATION. FINAL BREACH BETWEEN THE KING AND PARLIAMENT.

Our mercy moved us to write our laws in milk and equity; how are ye blinded to ask them in blood?

Reply to the Six Articles by EDWARD VI.

O blessed Peace!
To thy soft arms through death itself we flee;
Battles and camps and fields and victorie
Are but the rugged steps that lead to thee!—LOVELACE.

THE KING'S STANDARD IS SET UP! The announcement spread abroad like lightning, shot into every village nook, and thrilled through every heart of the great empire that it menaced with distraction and despair. The people had long been accustomed to look to their Parliament as the sole champion of their rights and liberties, yet their instinct of loyalty was still strong, and the King's Majesty was still held sacred. They now found themselves precipitated into a war, and suddenly compelled to embrace one or other of the two great parties that were each disqualified to claim undivided allegiance

by their very severance. The following chapter attempts to relate how that severance took place, and how the Cavalier and Roundhead came into existence in nature and in name.

From the great compromise at Runnymede, to the War of the Roses, the people had been slowly rising into consideration; not so much by any effort of their own, as heaved upward by the convulsions that so often shook the State. But parliamentary is by no means identical with popular progress: the people had acquired fresh importance as often as the Crown required support against the nobles; but they had not yet produced such material as to form a firm and fearless House of Commons. In the reign of Henry VII., the Parliaments were still unconscious of their power, though the people had frequently exhibited theirs, in significantly successful insurrections, which were then the awkward but only mode of expressing public opinion.

With Warwick died the old baronial power, that oligarchical aristocracy which, with all its faults, did good service in its generation, and "offended the subject more by insolence of demeanour than by abuse of administration."[1] Thenceforth it began at once to improve and to degenerate into the modern species of nobility. Out of the former body, Henry VII. could only find twenty-eight temporal

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[1] Lord John Russell on the French Revolution. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's noble historical novel, "The Last of the Barons."

peers for his Upper House, so fiercely had the old baron stock fought before it fell. Here and hereafter, we shall have occasion to note how much more freely flowed gentle than other blood on the battle-field, yet it availed not. Henceforth, the Upper House has ever been the weaker when the two Estates have come into collision.[1]

The courage and capacity of Henry VIII. enabled him to control the feeble liberties of England. His servile Parliament[2] tamely registered his tyrannical decrees, and permitted to his proclamations the force of law.[3] There was but one point on which they were sensitive; not religion, for that they changed at the despot's bidding; nor the matter of his murderous lust, for to that they pandered; nor his despotism, for to that they bowed like Egyptian slaves: but, when he attempted to levy taxes (in the form of a "Benevolence") without

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[1] Yet by no means to be the less valued. The House of Lords has shewn wonderful "hereditary" tact in preserving its position as a counterbalancing power to the Commons. One source, doubtless, of that power consists in its temperateness, and high-bred self-possession. If it has never originated great measures, or successfully stemmed great changes, it has rarely been betrayed into violent measures, and has often prevented political changes from assuming a revolutionary complexion. It has seldom, even in earlier days, compromised its character for respectability, or risen beyond it, like its more wayward brother House.

[2] The judges were as vile and venal as any of those of later days; they justified the exaction of "Benevolence," and sent Read, the Hampden of his time, to serve as a soldier.—*Herbert*, p. 152; *Prof. Smyth*, i. 345.

[3] 31 Hen. VIII. i. 8; Burnet, i. 263, quoted by Hallam (C. H. ii. 35).

their consent, Mammon was aggrieved, and inspired them to resist where patriotism had failed to do so.[1]

The brief and gentle reign of Edward VI. was yet long enough to prove the continued subserviency of the Commons, who accepted as law the proclamations of his unscrupulous regency. Under Mary the Parliament took courage, emboldened by the hatred that her tyranny and sanguinary disposition had inspired:[2] at the same time the controversies of religion, for which men died daily, exercised the public mind, and accustomed the people to think for themselves. The name of "bishop," associated with the persecution of which they suffered themselves to be the chief agents, assumed an unpopularity it long retained, even in Protestant times.[3] To us this reign is chiefly remarkable for the retribution that Marian bigotry entailed on England in the shape of Puritanism. The fiery persecution

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[1] Thus also in the Netherlands, the insulted people saw their best patriots executed, their religion outraged, their wives and daughters dishonoured, and they bore it: *but*, when the Duke of Alva attempted to lay a tax of 10 per cent. upon their properties, they rose with indignant pride, and commenced their struggle for liberty.—*Hist. of Netherlands.*

[2] Yet Mary sent a knight to the Tower for his free speaking in Parliament, and thought the measure mild, compared with her father's threat to cut off the heads of those who used them to speak against his prerogative.—*Benett*, ii. 35.

[3] It would seem, however, that bishops were misliked even before the Reformation, where we find one of their lordships complaining, in a legal case, that he could expect no justice from a London jury, "who so hated the Church, that they would bring in Abel guilty of Cain's murder."—*C. Hist. Hallam*, i. 58.

that forced many of her best subjects to leave their country, drove them into Switzerland and Frankfort, the strongholds of Calvinism: there they first sought to attach themselves to the Lutheran Communion, but its ministers, with implacable bigotry, rejected them, and so they found refuge in the Calvinistic churches. Then came Knox among them, declaring King Edward's Liturgy to be a "Masse-book," and prelacy a popish invention. The name of Queen Mary was naturally an abomination; and, not only as Mary, but as Queen, the hearts of the exiles were hardened against her. When these converts and their children returned to England, they had become estranged, as well from their loyalty as from their ancient faith.

The reign of Elizabeth proves more convincingly how arbitrary the power of the Sovereign still continued. The affections of the people, which she knew so well how to conciliate, blinded them to the despotic nature of her rule: the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts rendered the caprice of the Sovereign and her favourites virtually paramount to all law. Yet, even then,—while Elizabeth pretended to shield under the broad mantle of prerogative every matter relating to State or ecclesiastical affairs from parliamentary discussion,—even then, a brave voice was heard asserting, "that, without freedom of speech, it was a mockery to call that a Parliament House; it is but a school of flattery and dissimulation, and so a fit place to serve

the divell and his angells, and not to glorify God or benefit the Commonwealth." This was but a solitary voice, however, soon hushed in prison, though not forgotten. The nobles feared, and the people loved their Queen: loyalty was enthusiastic,[1] the nation thrived at home, and was respected, or, at least, respectable, abroad. The ability of Cecil and the honesty of Walsingham controlled in some measure the ineptitudes and corruptions of the favourites; and Elizabeth had sufficient tact to yield to necessity before it assumed that dangerous appearance in the eyes of others. Many years elapsed before any opposition to the Crown was attempted in Parliament, and then it was on ecclesiastical matters; the Puritan spirit had entered into the House of Commons,[2] and at once acquired strength from

[1] When poor Strype had his right hand cut off for writing a political pamphlet, he took off his hat with the hand that was left, and shouted "God save the Queen!" Barrow and Greenwood were executed at Bury for spreading "seditious" pamphlets, and they died with such expressions of loyalty and piety, that even Elizabeth was touched with sorrow.—*Neal's Puritans.* This reign had little to boast of in toleration: the Protestant martyrs under Mary numbered about three hundred; the Roman Catholic martyrs under Elizabeth, about two hundred; the latter chiefly concerning supremacy.—*Hallam.*

[2] And out of the House the Puritans grew still more vehement and busy, reviling the "Popish rags" and "conjuring robes" of the clergy, and calling Elizabeth to account for not more bloodily persecuting the Roman Catholics. They admitted she had done *something* toward the abolition of Popery, but affirmed she was "still but an idle slut, who swept the middle of the room, but left dirt in the corners." There is no limit to the vituperative indulgence, when once people betake themselves to calling names, whether at Billingsgate or in the pulpit. "The untamed heifer" was one of the mildest and most decent epithets applied to Eliza-

its associating the civil with the religious liberty it claimed. A sense of independence began to awaken, and it slumbered not henceforth.[1] Elizabeth lived to hear it remonstrate very audibly through the solemn silence of the once acclaiming people. She died, despotic and despairing; full of years and glory, and all but a suicide through sorrow and remorse.[2]

James I. was seated quietly on the throne of England, unquestioned, the world scarce knew why, concerning his right to that glorious inheritance.[3] The people welcomed him, rejoicing, as a people always does, in any change, and hoping great things from the consolidation[4] of Scotland with their Crown. Therefore they accepted what was understood to be the will of their "good Queen Bess." And, therefore, the first of the Stuarts was a tacitly elected King, a title, though his best,[5] that his

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beth, who used to say "she knew what would content the Catholics, but never what would content the Puritans." *D'Israeli's Commentaries.*

[1] The Queen must have perceived the rising aspirations of the Commons, when she thus dissolved them:—"I discharge you from presuming to meddle with matters of State, which are matters above your comprehension."

[2] She is said to have starved herself to death.

[3] There were many competitors: he was only great-great-grandson of Henry VII. by the female line.

[4] James, for the first time, assumed the title of "King of Great Britain," quartering St. Andrew's cross with that of St. George. The iron gates of the frontier towns were melted into ploughshares!—*Mod. Eur. Russell*, iii. 176.

[5] If not *the* best, it was *his* best. Although the blood of our Saxon and Norman kings was in his veins, "no private man in England could have recovered an acre of land without proving a better title than he could make to the Crown."—*Hallam, C. Hist.* i. 283.

imperious vanity would have utterly disdained, The English people were little acquainted with the character of their new sovereign;[1] he was known only as a shrewd, sensible, peace-loving man, who had been very tractable to his former refractory subjects. The Parliamentary party had probably hope from his weakness; the Episcopal party, from reasons well-known to themselves; the Puritans, from his Presbyterian education; the masses, from his novelty. These motives procured for him a peaceable, and even triumphant welcome in his new dominions; his progress to London occupied no considerable time, though passed in hunting, amusement, and debauchery; but it lasted long enough to "turn the admiration of the intelligent world into contempt."[2] No sense of the great and solemn duties that had devolved upon him ever visited his ignoble mind: each day of his progress through his new kingdom he violated every rule of taste, feeling, and policy,[3] affording thus a type of his progress through life. Sordid, selfish, false, cowardly,

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[1] Clarendon says the English at this time knew (and cared) less about Scotland than they did about Poland.

[2] Carte, "Life of Ormond."

[3] He published proclamations forbidding loyal demonstrations, he received women on their knees, he drove away the crowds that came to see him and rode rudely through them with curses, and he actually ordered a man to be hanged on the spot, for picking a pocket.—*Carte's Ormond.* He had succeeded to powers that he was quite unaware of until he had them in his grasp. After a first interview with his English councillors, he exclaimed, "Do I mak the judges? do I mak the bishops? Then God's wouns! I mak what likes me law and gospel."—*Forster's Statesmen*, i. 182.

and tyrannical, no meaner King ever weaned a loyal people from the strong instinct of allegiance.

The courtly Bishops who then disgraced our Church, alone were not disappointed in the new sovereign :[1] they, and many of them no doubt conscientiously, were quite in accord with their supreme head on matters of Divine right and non-conformity. These Prelates, unfortunately for themselves and their successors, were invested with large judicial as well as spiritual authority.[2] Not only in their High Commission Court, but in the Star Chamber, they lent themselves to much sanguinary and oppressive work;[3] ear-cropping, nose-slitting, ruinous fining, and long imprisonment. For heresy was growing apace, under the stimulus of persecution. There were then no other houses of prayer than the parish-

[1] We do not of course include the mere courtiers, and those with whom his profusion passed for generosity. Pensions were enormously increased, and two hundred and thirty-seven knighthoods conferred in six weeks! Cecil, who had brought Mary Queen of Scots to the block, was flattered and promoted.

[2] Lord Clarendon confesses that Laud found the Church in a healthy and united state; he left it a prey to every spirit of dissent that ever distracted the repose of men's minds.—*See* Appendix B., at the end of the volume.

[3] Archbishop Bancroft and others were at once accusers and judges in the Star Chamber and High Commission Court. As if in mockery of her tenderness in this matter, Scotland had no less than nine bishops engaged in her government! It was characteristic of this King that his persecution of the Roman Catholics was soon and easily checked; not by any humane or enlightened consideration, but through fear. The Jesuits, who knew his cowardly nature well, had intimated to him that his life was endangered by their hostility: henceforth, especially after the Gunpowder Plot, "he never acted against them, though he wrote against them all his life."

churches;[1] but many of the clergy preached doctrines therein very subversive of their old rituals.

Indeed, it would seem that the inferior clergy had much ground for dissatisfaction, and that the organization of the Church required reformation: its ministers were, for the most part, miserably poor;[2] its hierarchy, many of them, iniquitously rich;[3] the monstrous and simoniacal abuse of pluralities was unbounded; non-residents were as

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[1] The term "Conventicle" was applied to assemblies (so early as the time of Wicliffe), not to buildings. Conventicles were suppressed by the 12 Car. II.—*Haydn.*

[2] The following picture was drawn so late as 1678, but would have been, in James's time, still less exaggerated:—"We must now look for a labouring clergy that is mortified to a horse and all such vanities, that can foot it in the dark five or six miles, and preach unto starlight for as many shillings. As also a sober and temperate clergy, that will not so much as the laity, but that the least pig, and the least sheaf, and the least of everything may satisfy. Oh! how prettily and temperately may half a score children be maintained with almost twenty pounds per annum. What a becoming thing it is for him that serves at the altar to fill the dung-cart in dry weather, and to heat the oven and pull the hemp in wet. And what a pleasant sight it is to see the man of God fetching up his single melancholy cow from a small rib of land that is scarce to be found without a guide, or going to market planted on a pannier, with a pair of geese or turkies bobbing out their head from his canonicals."—*Eachard's Grounds of the Contempt of the Clergy, published* 1678.

The position that the clergy occupied even in Fielding and Smollett's time, is too evident: "Hudibras" bears testimony to their poverty, and even Goldsmith's Vicar, so "passing rich on 40*l.* a-year," was in no unusual state of preferment.

[3] Bishop Williams kept such state that noblemen sent their sons to be educated in his household; even such men as the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, and Leicester, &c.—*Amb. Phils. Life of Archbishop Williams.* He was said to be a diocese in himself, being "bishop, dean, prebend, residentiary, and parson, all in one." In his petition to the King, he offers to give up *some* of his commendams.

numerous as unscrupulous consciences; Romish innovation was very incontestable.[1] In the first Parliament of this reign (A. D. 1604), the term Puritan was not a political distinction, but it was unhappily already associated with the idea of patriotism, and therefore found great favour in the people's eyes. It was proportionably unpalatable to the King, who had no pleasant memory of the stern and factious presbytery of Scotland,[2] especially as contrasted with the smooth and obsequious prelacy of England. On the latter model he would fain have moulded the Parliamentary manners; but he found such material far from plastic even then.

The Commons exhibited great patience indeed, and listened to very strange doctrines from the royal lips; but they had already on the very hustings questioned the King's power to pack a parliament[3] and, by vindicating the freedom of the voter, established a firm foundation for their own independence. With this Parliament James fairly entered into controversy, and openly pitted the prerogative against privilege. The doctrines held by the King

[1] Fuller's "Church History;" Wilson's "Life of James I.;" Russell's "Modern Europe," iii. 175.

[2] It was affirmed (in 1596), by some of the Scottish ministers, that "all kings were the devil's children, and that Satan had now the guidance of the Court." Others asserted that the King himself was possessed "of a verie divell," and that his subjects ought consequently to "take the sword out of his hands."—*Robertson's Scotland*, ii. These ravings might be in themselves only ludicrous, but the pleased people gave assent to them by their silence.

[3] Sir Francis Goodwyn's case.—*Jour. House of Commons, March* 30, 1606.

and the King's party sound strangely now: he announced that "he was an absolute King," and his manner of asking for supplies was as peculiar as his constitutional dogma: he informed the Commons "that he expected loving contribution; but, to account with them, how and what, was too base for his quality!"

Such was the tone of the first Stuart to his Parliaments: the Parliament's retort came slowly, but very strongly, some forty years afterwards. At this time they answered meekly, almost pathetically, —"What cause," said they, "we, your poor Commons, have to watch over our privileges is manifest in itself to all men. The prerogatives of princes may easily and do daily grow. The privileges of the subject are for the most part at an everlasting stand. They may, by good providence and care, be preserved, but, being once lost, are not recovered but with much disquiet."[1] Much disquiet indeed, with heart-burnings and heart-breakings, fire, and sword, and bitter strife, in order to rescue "those privileges of the subject" from this vain man and his unteachable son! But the Stuarts appear never to have understood the English constitution, or the temper of the English people. Even the manly and moderate "apology" of the House of Commons[2] touching their privileges, was utterly disre-

[1] Parl. Hist. vol. ii. col. 1030.

[2] Supposed to have been written by Bacon, and worthy of him.

garded by King James; and, afterwards, when they had entered on their records a protestation against the Crown's interference with these privileges, he sent for the journal of the House, and tore out the presumptuous page with his own hand.[1]

Nor were his dealings with the Law less remarkable than those with the Constitution: the twelve judges having *heard* a case argued concerning the simoniacal and dishonest abuse of commendams,[2] in which the royal power to bestow them at will was questioned as a point of law, the King sent for the judges, and represented their offence to them in such a light that they fell upon their knees, retracted their error, and implored pardon for having done their duty. No wonder that the heart of the "British Solomon"[3] was hardened: servile judges, parasitical bishops, even the dread House of Commons obse-

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[1] The marks of this outrage on the old book are still to be seen,—a little bit of visible history that is very impressive!

[2] The following episcopal advice is worth notice for many reasons:—"The King was very much concerned how his grandchildren (Rupert and Maurice) would be able to subsist without being very chargeable. 'Sir,' says the Lord Keeper (Bishop Williams), 'I will shew you how you shall maintain them so that it shall cost you nothing. Design them for the Bishoprics of Durham and Winchester. If they become vacant in their nonage, appoint commendatories at a laudable allowance; but gather the fruits for the support of your grandchildren till they come to virility to be consecrated.'"—*Life of Williams, by Phillips*, p. 117.

[3] "The Court clergy told the poor King that he was Solomon, and that his sloth and cowardice, by which he had betrayed the cause of God and the honour of the nation, was gospel meekness and peaceableness; for which they raised him up above the very Heavens, while he lay wallowing like a swine in the mire of his lust."—*Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs*, 80.

quious, and Divine right but whisperingly questioned.[1]

Before we pass from the consideration of this reign, we must refer to some of its more important features that bore strongly upon future times. The Parliament, however submissive in general, gave several signs of awakening life. It dared to postpone supplies to the consideration of grievances, which the King was obliged to listen to. It considered, but unhappily decided not, the momentous question of allowing the Crown a certain annual income for the support of state; and this was to be substituted for the precarious revenue derived from outworn feudal claims and offensive exercises of prerogative. Even the terms of this "great contract" were agreed upon; by the mediation of the Lords, the Commons were contented to vote 200,000*l.* per annum, in lieu of all the vexatious and unprofitable claims of the Crown. During the conferences, however, as to the manner in which this sum was to be secured, the King, "for good reasons known to himself, utterly dissolved the Parliament."[2] The journals of the House of Commons are here wanting, and it is difficult to ascertain on what grounds the

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[1] It is not necessary here to speak of James's private character, grossly offensive as it was; nor to conjure up the Banquo line of victims to his prejudices, passions, or state-craft. The death of Raleigh, and the pardon of Somerset, are sufficient to exemplify the manner in which he exercised the power of life and death, and to prove how despotically he did so.

[2] May.

contract was broken off.[1] The King and Commons parted for the last time, in mutual disfavour and distrust.

The foreign relations of England were equally disastrous. Spain, the hereditary enemy of England, had obtained a peace on her own terms from our timid King: even her preposterous claims to America, and the exclusive navigation of the Southern hemisphere[2] were tolerated. But, though James could enter into official treaties at his will, there was no real peace beyond the narrow seas. The Spanish Main was then, as it continued to be in Rupert's time, the resort of adventurers of desperate fortunes and courage; the buccaneers of England, especially, carried on a well-sustained piratical warfare there, and the Prince found that the English flag was but too well known upon those distant seas. It is unnecessary to enter into details of James's foreign policy; how he was out-manœuvred by Austria, cozened by Spain, mocked by France, despised by the Protestant princes, over-reached by the Dutch,[3] and baffled in all his imbecile measures

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[1] Smyth, Hist. Dis.

[2] The English adventurers scarcely questioned this large monopoly, for, lying in wait for the homeward-bound Spanish fleets, they brought their merchandize into England far more cheaply than if they had procured it commercially on its distant native shore.

[3] The States of Holland had given Queen Elizabeth the towns of Brill and Flushing, and the fort of Ramekins, in pledge of debt amounting to 8,000,000 florins. Barneveldt contrived to liquidate this debt by the payment of one-third of the above sum to

to recover the Palatinate for his son-in-law, and to champion the Protestant faith. Yet, his gross vanity, nourished by the yet grosser flattery of his courtiers, from Bacon down to Whitgift, triumphed over every disgrace, and left him only on his death-bed. *There*, the cheat and delusions of his life stood confessed; remorse rendered his last hours as terrible as those of his predecessors. "No man could die less lamented or esteemed. He was despised by all as a pedant without judgment, courage, or steadiness; subject to his favourites, and delivered up to the counsels, or rather the corruption, of Spain."[1] He had mortgaged not only the finances but the honour of the Crown, and he bequeathed to his unhappy son the expiation of his vices, perversity, and incapacity.

Charles I. was heartily welcomed to the throne by the people of England. Had he understood their true position and his own, he might have been indeed the "noblest King in Christendom." But where then was Charles to learn the great constitutional truths that were yet latent in the most patriotic minds, and were only slowly evolved by the heat of discussion and of desperate strife?

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our needy King, who looked upon the finances of the country as his own. The produce furnished *præmia pudoris* for his followers. —*Burnet, Own Times*, i. 26.

[1] Burnet: "He broke the power of the Crown by selling" [with the wise consent of Parliament, however,] "the quit-rent of vast possessions, and thus lost influence over many tenants of the Crown, and over many boroughs."—*Burnet, Own Times*, i. 28.

Almost all Europe was blindly loyal then; the great nobles, who had so long interposed their feudal shadow between the people and the throne, were swept away,[1] and despotism itself was welcomed as a boon by subjects who knew no better, and had known much worse. Although England was further advanced in political intelligence than the continental kingdoms, it was only a portion of her people who had begun to aspire after constitutional privileges; and those who represent Charles as opposed to the country at large on the question of prerogative, are at least premature in their assertion. The Puritans constituted a minority even in the House of Commons on this occasion; and, with the loving regard of English hearts for ancient institutions, the people at large dreamed of no sweeping change. The wars of the Roses, *our* Thirty Years' War, had removed much of the real tyranny that wasted England; still more that disentailing Act,[2] by which a profligate and fiercely emulous nobility were allowed to ruin themselves, scattering, with suicidal hands, their ancestral property abroad among the people:[3] as, when the rich waters of some stagnant lake are

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[1] Guizot, Revol. d'Angle., i. 23.

[2] Richard III. and Henry VII.—*Reeve's Hist. English Law*, ii. 113. Quoted by Hallam, i. 13.

[3] "The luxury and pomp with which they strove to vie against the enormous wealth of the London merchants, were as fatal to the fortunes of the nobility of Elizabeth's time, as wars and confiscations had been to those of Henry VII."—*Blackstone.*

spread abroad over the thirsty soil, so did the country thrive and prosper on the former sources of oppression. The Commons grew powerful, trade received a stimulus; new classes arose, who had leisure, and knowledge, and inducement sufficient to set about bettering their political estate. The long and inglorious, but useful tranquillity of James's reign afforded shelter to their imperceptible advances; and, when Charles first attempted to assert the old prerogative, he found a new and formidable power in existence, an unforeseen strength exhibited, that would have made a more timid man pause, a wiser one endeavour to retrace his steps.

In considering the character of Charles I., we must endeavour to distinguish between the sovereign and the man: the latter was what heaven and a thoughtful youth had made him, grave, temperate, kind-hearted, learned, and brave;[1] the former, what

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[1] I have no wish, as will be evident, to be the panegyrist of Charles; but he has been so unsparingly abused of late, that I am tempted to offer to my younger readers the following tributes to his character from *cotemporary* opponents, who must have known something about him. Mrs. Hutchinson, one of the severest Puritans, says, "He was temperate, chaste, and serious: the debauched nobility and courtiers who could not abandon their debaucheries, yet so reverenced the King as to retire into corners to practise them. All the fools of the former Court, were banished, and men of learning and ingenuity encouraged by the King, who was a most excellent judge," &c.—p. 84. *May*, a disappointed courtier and deserter from his cause, says, that "Love and esteem followed him to the throne; hope and fair presages of his future government, while they considered how clear he had lived from vice, how untainted of those licentious extravagancies which were thought almost excusable."—1 *Parl. Hist.* p. 7. And, "He lived

King James and his vile Court, had rendered him despotic, wilful, subtle, and insincere. Even for Charles as a sovereign, there is much allowance to be made: we must judge him, not by the light we have now, but by that which glimmered through the prejudices of his time and place. Be it remembered that Divine right and irresponsible power were not innovations arrogated by Charles Stuart, but long established and prescriptive abuses, hitherto scarcely questioned attributes of each English King. When a few great and daring men stood up for the higher privileges of man, they had to contend, at first, not only with the government, but with the governed.[1] We find ourselves living in an age of mature and enlightened liberty, thinking the thoughts of ancient patriots

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more conformably to the rules of the Protestant religion than any of his cotemporary Princes in Europe."—*Ibid.* p. 11. *Lilly*, who stops at no imputation, in his "Observations," says, "he had many singular parts in nature;" moreover, "that he was ever a perfect friend," "an indulgent father," and "(before the wars) a great enemy to bloodshed." Henry Martyn, the regicide, said in the House of Commons, "If we must have a King, I would rather have the last gentleman than any other." Even the libellous Sir Edward Peyton admits that he "gave good hope to his people of a vertuous raigne."—*Catastrophe of the Stuarts.* And Baillie, a stern Covenanter, speaks of him as "a most just, reasonable, and sweet person."—*Letters*, i. 301.

[1] *See* Hobbes, in his "Behemoth," pp. 565, 602–3, &c Heylin, in "Life of Laud," *ubique*, and all the royalist writers; who seem to have considered even the limitation of monarchy as a treasonable design. "In Edward II.'s time, the two Spencers, in order to cover their treason, held this damnable and damned opinion, that 'liegeance was more by reason of the King's politique capacity than of his person.'"—*Somers' Tracts*, p. 100.

as if they were our own, in daily and almost unconscious enjoyment of privileges that were once as debatable as sternly fought for. But we must transport our thoughts to a period when all this was but in embryo; when only the most forward spirits of the time (and they, too often, in prison or in exile) dared figure to themselves such an England as we have inherited from their conceptions and their heroism.

I believe that Charles met his first Parliament with a sincere desire to conciliate their affection, apart from all interested motives. As Prince of Wales, he had already tasted the sweet but fickle breath of popular applause: he had even led a popular movement in the ominous impeachment of Lord Middlesex;[1] and who that has ever known the genial and heart-stirring favour of the people would willingly forego its triumphs for the cold and cheerless grasp of mere official power? But, unhappily, the young monarch wished for the former merely as a graceful appendage to the latter; and, yet more unfortunately, the new Parliament came to its arena with as insatiable a thirst of power as its King.[2] Nobly patriotic in most of its resolves, the Parliament felt the strength such

[1] James I. had vainly resisted this dangerous precedent. At length his weak resolution gave way to his greater weakness towards his favourite, for it was Buckingham who really moved the measure. "Be it so," exclaimed the state-crafty old King; "you will yet have your fill of Parliamentary impeachment."

[2] M. Guizot's Revol. d'Anglet. i. 32.

motives give, but, exulting in that strength, proceeded to use it like a conqueror.

The first measures that Charles adopted shewed confidence in his Parliament, and a generous trust in its generosity. His opening speech was gracious and judicious; he would not allow his ministers, in asking for a supply, to state any sum as the amount desired, relying on the readiness of the people, who called for a war with Spain, to give him the means of carrying it on. They gave but 140,000*l.*, and that accompanied with almost as many grievances. Once entered on this theme, there seemed no end to it; and each matter of discussion was father of another. All the wrongs and iniquities of the past reign were marshalled in eloquent array as against the present; nothing was beyond the reach of this searching spirit, nothing too old or too recent, or too high or too low, for its inquisition. They deplored the state of the navy, and deprecated the sermons of Dr. Montagu;[1] they denounced the contraction of their privileges, and the expansion of popery; they arraigned the foreign negotiations, alliances, and disgraces, and grumbled over Charles's letter to the Pope.[2] They inquired into the disposal of subsidies

[1] Afterwards, as if qualified by his unpopularity for that function, he was made a Bishop of Lichfield. His most unpopular works were, "A Gag for an old Goose," and "Appello Cæsarem."

[2] In reference to recent debates in our own Parliament with respect to communication with the Pope, I quote Lilly, a Parliamentarian's opinion on the subject of Charles's letter when wooing the Infanta:—"Why he might not as well in a civil way

past and revenues to come, and put forth innumerable grievances. In fine, the King was to have the redressing of all their complaints, and in return they promised earnestly to interfere in every department of the government, by inquisition, by petition, and by advice.[1]

The King, though little grateful for all these labours, as yet preserved his temper; while the Parliament held him still fettered in the bonds of debt, and clipped the wings of his young ambition by keeping the fleet "money-bound" at Portsmouth.[2] When, on account of the plague raging in London, the Houses were removed to Oxford, the King made another appeal to the liberality of the Commons: he frankly laid before them the state of the finances, withholding no document, offering every explanation. In vain; the Commons not only mocked the King's necessities by one of its smallest subsidies, but limited the grant of tonnage and poundage to a single year.[3]

It is necessary to bear in mind all this, because

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write unto the Pope, as write and send his ambassador to the Great Turk, I know not; and for his mercy to the priests, truly, charity bids me to make rather a good than a bad construction of it."—*Observations, &c.* Maseres, 146.

[1] Guizot's Revol. d'Anglet. i. 32.

[2] Buckingham and the Treasurer of the Navy had advanced 100,000*l.* towards the equipment of this expedition against Spain.—*Parl. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 390.

[3] Instead of for the King's life, as had been the custom for two centuries.—*Constitutional Hist.* i. 370. The Upper House resented this insult to the young King by rejecting the bill.—*Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 6.

the King and his party endeavoured to justify their future measures on the plea of necessity; they maintained, and with some justice, that the Commons[1] had causelessly displayed a suspicious and distrustful temper towards their young Sovereign; and, so far from meeting his overtures with cordiality and frankness, had spoken and acted in a manner calculated to estrange and to disgust him. As there was nothing more to be had from it, the Parliament was dissolved (12th August, 1625): that first momentous Parliament, the only one in which a right understanding between Charles and the Commons was ever practicable.

The Duke of Buckingham, at this time, played the *rôle* of the King's evil genius, an office never vacant to those who are easily led.[2] He was described, in the language of the time, as "an unwholesome cloud, drawn up from the earth by the rays of majesty, which darkened the setting, and obscured the rising, sun."[3] For the sole gratifica-

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[1] It has been asserted *as* a cause that Lord Bristol had "exposed" such conduct on the part of Charles, or *at least* of Buckingham, in the Spanish marriage treaty, as justified this suspiciousness! Moreover, that the toleration granted to Roman Catholics in honour of Henrietta Maria, was a very formidable crime.

[2] Milton thus describes this fatal peculiarity of the King's:—"Whether with his enemies or friends, in the court or camp, he was always in the hands of another: now of his wife, then of the bishops; now of the peers, then of the soldiery; and lastly, of his enemies: for the most part, too, he followed the worse counsel, and almost always, of the worser men."—*Iconoclastes.*

[3] James I. took a fancy to Buckingham's handsome person as he

tion of this favourite the war with Spain was declared and carried on. The people, disgusted with the issue of Mansfeldt's expedition,[1] had lost all interest in foreign invasion, and Charles and Buckingham had to conduct it as best they might.[2] No soldier served under the incapable and arrogant favourite from choice; no chivalry followed his dishonoured banner; the Cavaliers (as yet unnamed as such) were seeking honour in the Palatinate, or in the camp of Prince Maurice; many of them were still mere coxcombs of the street, or honest country-gentlemen; and many a man who followed the royal standard afterwards, now wished the Parliament God speed, and a little more generosity.

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was acting in the play of "Ignoramus." The intriguing nobles of the Court brought him forward to supplant Somerset, as those of France used to speculate on a new mistress for Louis XV. In 1614 we see him at Cambridge races, "in ragged clothes," subsisting on 50*l.* a-year.—(*Sir S. D'Ewes*). A few years afterwards at Court with 300,000*l.* worth of diamonds. The King compared his appearance to that of St. Stephen, "Acts," vi. 15, "whose face was as the face of an angel." Hence the name of "Steenie," so familiar in the letters and history of the time.—*Court of the Stuarts*, ii. 282. The most outrageous applications of Scripture were common at this time. Lord Bacon, asking for Prince Charles's intercession with King James, says, "As I have been created by the father, let me be redeemed by the son."—*Life of Abp. Williams.*

[1] Mansfeldt had sailed with twelve thousand troops for the rescue of the Palatinate, just before James's death. The French had sent no orders for his admission at Calais, so he sailed on to Zealand. Here, also, he was disappointed in permission to land. Half his forces perished by pestilence, and their dead bodies, washed on shore, were eaten by hogs.

[2] Orders from the Council were sent to the Lord-lieutenants of counties, requiring them to levy, by way of loan, the sums required by the King.

In the absence of chivalric volunteers, however, the Court had abundance of a meaner sort: soldiers of fortune were plentifully engendered by the great war upon the continent; some creatures of Buckingham's were contented to follow his chief favourite, Lord Wimbledon;[1] and officered by these, were about ten thousand unhappy conscripts, raised by "press." This unpromising expedition sailed for Cadiz, but soon returned, disgraced, and thinned by sickness. It appears to have had rather a sort of buccaneering purpose than any organized plan of war; its principal object was the capture of some rich ships, whose spoil was calculated on to defray the expenses of the expedition, and to make up the balance by which the late Parliamentary grant fell short of the King's necessities. The Chancellor of Exchequer in those days had an unenviable budget; the Cadiz expedition had only increased its deficiencies, and the State was in fact insolvent.

The only and last resource was a SECOND PARLIAMENT;[2] it assembled,[3] firm in the same purpose of redressing wrongs and bringing to justice those who were considered as the enemies of the people. They voted, indeed, a grant for the King's neces-

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[1] Edward Cecil.

[2] "Privy Seals do fail, contributions are but mockeries, so that there is no way left but Parliament, although his Majesty hath wished the Lords to think of all other waies saving that one, and the Duke will keep off *that* as long as he can."—*Court and Times of Charles I.* Lond. 1848.

[3] Feb. 6, 1626.

sities, but reserved the order,[1] which was never made. An impeachment of Buckingham followed, the lords assenting "as if they had been twins;" it was conducted by Sir John Eliot, Sir Dudley Digges, and others, with an eloquence and energy that foreboded darkly for their enemies.[2] The King interposed his authority, sent Eliot and Digges to the Tower, and dissolved his second Parliament.

He now ordered the collection of the moneys which the Parliament had voted yet withheld. Lord Strafford (then Sir Thomas Wentworth and speaking on the patriot side) has given us a dark picture of the cruelties by which this *loan* was enforced.[3] In truth it was of the last consequence, for the situation of the Court was desperate.

The war with Spain still smouldered on; the King's shrunken and ill-disciplined army was a jest to all but his own subjects, on whom they were quartered. The sailors were disgusted at the uses to which they had lately been betrayed against the Protestants of France,[4] and were not to be relied on;

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[1] Of three subsidies and three fifteenths.

[2] The reader may consult Mr. Forster's "British Statesmen," i. 43, and D'Israeli's "Commentaries," i. 326, for the quaint but powerful speech of Sir John Eliot on this occasion. The death and burial of this eloquent and heroic man is one of the saddest features in this sad time, and most prejudicial to Charles's memory. He was imprisoned, but not to the death, for this speech; subsequently he became the first martyr of liberty; imprisoned in March 1630, he died of it in November, 1632.

[3] Parl. Hist. vii. 370, quoted by Mr. Forster.

[4] For this extraordinary measure of lending ships to France

the militia, composed of the angry people themselves, could not be thought of. Charles seemed utterly powerless, when, to the astonishment of his own and all succeeding times, he declared war with France! Nothing appears more inexplicable than the influence of the profligate and volatile Buckingham over his grave and decorous King; there seems no doubt that the favourite's passion for Anne of Austria, and his vain-glorious boast,[1] committed Charles to this war, the conduct of which was as disgraceful as its cause. The nominal object

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see an explanation, such as it is, in D'Israeli's "Commentaries."*

[1] Guizot's "Revol. d'Anglet." i. 42; "Clar. Reb." i. 71. It was Buckingham's egregious folly to quarrel *personally* with the two great ministers of Europe, Olivarez and Richelieu, in the course of his diplomacy. Olivarez hated him for his insolence to himself and his civility to his wife; Richelieu, for his daring addresses to the Queen of France, whom his Eminence probably made love to at the time, if he married her afterwards.† When he was refused admission into France as ambassador, he swore "he would see and speak with that lady in spite of all the strength and power of France." The pretext of the war was the favour shewn to Austria in the affairs of the Palatinate, and preventing Mansfeldt from landing.—*Nani, Hist. of Varum;* quoted by Mr. Jesse.—*Harris,* ii. 158.

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* That most ingenious apologist has only shewn, after all, that Charles and Buckingham were outwitted in this matter, Protestant Rochelle being substituted by Richelieu for Popish Genoa as the scene of use for these ships and their indignant sailors. Lilly tells us (Maseres' "Tracts," p. 151) that Charles had much ado to recover these prostituted vessels, Admiral Pennington being obliged to keep one hundred French vessels in embargo to obtain restitution of his own.

† He was only a *lay* cardinal, and therefore free to marry. Nani is the only authority, however, for this marriage, which is at least doubtful.

was to assist the Protestants besieged in Rochelle by the cardinal, and it was hoped that the popularity of the cause would affect the English favourably towards its leader. In vain: the people thought more of the great interests at stake in their own land; the security of every humble fireside was in question there, and they were too sensitive of the severities they had just experienced in raising war-supplies, to feel very favourably towards the author of them.

Buckingham, nevertheless, went forth upon his war, his ships hung with velvet and resounding with sweet music; his "jewels accompanied him, and his gilt coach," and the ill wishes of every man he had left behind him. He appeared before Rochelle with one hundred vessels and about seven thousand troops, but the Huguenots, in the absence of any previous arrangement, and distracted by internal discord, refused to admit him. Finding it necessary to land his forces during the delay thus caused, he selected the Isle of Rhé for this purpose, though well garrisoned and fortified, while the fertile island of Oleron lay close at hand, defenceless. It is needless to dwell upon the utter incapacity he displayed in his heedless attacks and disorderly retreat.[1] He

[1] "Strafford's Papers," vol. i. p. 41; Rohan's "Memoirs," quoted by Harris, ii. 162. There is an interesting and vivid account of this expedition in D'Israeli's "Commentaries, ii. 64." During four months the Duke had full opportunity to display the sort of chivalry that Cervantes laughed to death in Spain (was Spain the better for it?). There seems to have been much hard fighting,

lost two-thirds of his men, and the remnant were hardly saved by the gallantry of eight hundred Irish under Sir Pierce Crosby, who kept their ranks until they reached the shore.[1] Buckingham, too, displayed that courage which was almost his only redeeming virtue: he was the last man who embarked.

The king weakly but generously welcomed and consoled his favourite. The people envenomed their hatred with contempt; they arraigned the arrogant and incapable leader of the expedition as the cause of the slaughter of their fellow-countrymen, of the dishonour of the English name, of the despair of their Protestant brethren in France. Public hatred in every form, religious, political, legal, and commercial, assailed the duke, and, indirectly, his protector. The soldiers and sailors, rendered reckless by their disgraces, and starving for want of pay, besieged the Court: while the debts of the expedition remained unpaid, the duke was still lavish and magnificent: the country groaned under illegal taxation; the cities saw their commerce ruined by the wars, their ships rotting in the docks, their merchandize uncalled for; all England was upon the point of insurrection, when the King summoned his THIRD PARLIAMENT.[2] (17th March, 1628.)

for we find in one affair that thirty French noblemen perished. The English fought desperately; Monk was amongst them.

[1] Maseres' "Tracts," 150, and Lilly, who excuses the Duke as to the retreat.

[2] By the advice of Sir Robert Cotton, who also advised a very

This was a memorable session: the patriots, as yet uncorrupted by power, shew very grandly on the stage; Eliot, Hampden, Coke, Selden, Glanvil, Pym, Rudyard, Seymour, Philips—all these are great names, urging fearlessly forward the great work they had to do. There was another man who sat among them then for the first time, so meanly clad, so coarse and repulsive[1] in his appearance, as to attract attention for that alone[2] —Oliver Cromwell. Wentworth (Lord Strafford) too, was there, exercising his vast power on the people's side. And against all these, with their wrongs, was Charles with his favourite and his divine right!

This Parliament[3] not only listened with strange

important but (now) impossible precept, in the words of Lord Burleigh to Queen Elizabeth, "Win the heart of your people, and you will have their purse and arm at your disposal." With such a view, seventy-eight prisoners for enforced-loan debt were enlarged. Of these, twenty-seven were elected to serve in the new Parliament, and they carried with them to the House the thoughts concerning liberty and prerogative that had visited them in prison.

[1] "He was very ordinarily apparelled . . . . . by an ill country taylor: his linen plain, and not very clean, with a speck of blood on his little band, his sword stuck close to his side: his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence very full of fervor."—*Sir P. Warwick*, p. 247.—*Carlyle.*

[2] Dr. South, in the sermon that made him a bishop, thus describes the first appearance of the man he had panegyrized while living:—"A bankrupt beggarly fellow, with a threadbare torn coat, and a greasy hat." Quoted by Mr. Forster. *Brit. States.* iv. 43.

[3] The property of its Commons was said to be three times as great as that of the Lords.—*Rushworth.* Yet, Davenant says in his Memoirs that the income of no House of Commons, up to his time, amounted to 400,000*l.*

patience and gravity to a very imperious opening speech from the King, but it abstained for the moment from all mention of the Duke of Buckingham, voted a liberal supply[1] and then presented the great PETITION OF RIGHT.[2] Charles assented to its provisions very readily at first, not comprehending the extensive meaning they contained. As soon as he discovered their real strength, he endeavoured to qualify his assent, but it was too late;[3] his hesitation only gave the Commons ground for suspicion and discontent, and the bill received the royal assent on the 7th of June. The Commons stopped not here; they again took up the

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[1] Five subsidies, about 350,000*l.* . . . . . When Sir John Coke, the secretary, brought up the report of this grant to the King, he declared he was happier in so doing than any of his predecessors. The King asked by how many voices he had carried it? Coke replied, "*But by one.*" At which the King seemed appalled, and asked how many were against him? "None, Sire! the unanimity of the House made all but ONE VOICE." The King was so strongly affected as to weep; a strange emotion for one so used to self-control.—*D'Israeli's Commentaries*, ii. 94; *Rush.* 525. 30,000*l.* would have paid the mutinous soldiers and sailors, but was not to be had.

[2] This was founded on the four following grievances:—Exaction of money under the name of loans; the imprisonment of those refusing to pay, and the suspension of the habeas corpus; the billetting of soldiers on private persons; and the exercise of martial law.—*Hallam's Const. Hist.* i. 382.

[3] The King addressed a letter to the Lords, in which he stated, that he could not part with the power of imprisoning, but promised not to use that power for compelling loans, or without good cause. The Lords sent the bill for the petition of right to the Lower House, with an amendment to the clause forbidding arrests, "saving the King's *sovereign* power." "Let us take heed," said old Coke (upon Littleton), "what we yield to. Magna Charta is such a fellow that he will *have* no sovereign."

subject of their grievances, and at length named Buckingham as the "grievance of grievances," as an "evil adviser of the King." Then follow fast the prorogation of this bold Parliament (26th of June, 1628); the unhappy expedition of Lord Denbigh, the duke's brother-in-law, to relieve Rochelle, another disgraceful failure; and another preparation to be headed by the duke himself, who had sworn to relieve Rochelle, "or leave his body on the dyke." The knife of Felton[1] saved him from all future disgraces.[2] Rochelle, after a gallant defence,[3] surrendered, and its catastrophe yet further exasperated the people, so heavily and vainly taxed for its relief. Again Parliament met (20th of January, 1629). During the recess, tonnage and poundage[4] had been

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[1] Harris, in his insidious book "after the manner of Bayle," calls him "a well meaning assassin." He who could apply such a term only wanted courage and a motive to exercise the same well-meaning function himself.

[2] Never died a man in England less regretted than this vain and dishonoured favourite. Ambition's dreary confession is uttered in these, his words:—"I have long lived in pain, sleep hath given me no rest, fortune and favours no content." His speech at the Commons' table, given by *Rushworth*, i. 525. Quoted by D'Israeli. The punishment of his assassin makes an era in our civilization: it shews also the unknown nobleness of our ancient laws: the Judges discovered that "Felton must not be tortured by the rack, for no such punishment is known or allowed by our law."—*Blackstone.* When Lord Dorset* had threatened this torture, to compel him to name his accomplices, Felton declared that "he would accuse none but his lordship," and so escaped. He died in deep remorse.

[3] See an eloquent account in D'Israeli's "Commentaries."

[4] Synonymous with Custom-house duties.

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* Laud's enemies falsely attribute the threat and the rebuff to the archbishop.

levied without its consent, notwithstanding the Petition of Right: merchants had been imprisoned for refusing to pay it; papistic clergymen, as they were esteemed, had been made bishops; and "Dr. Alabaster had been preaching flat popery at Paul's Cross."[1] These were ample materials for very fiery debates, carried on with many tears and even personal struggles,[2] all ending in another dissolution and the disuse of Parliaments for eleven long years.

The King now ruled at will, as despotically as any sovereign in Europe; the more so, since he had relinquished the warlike schemes of his youthful ambition, and was freed from the all-tainting curse of favouritism.[3] Spain and France were too happy to accept the proffered peace, and "there quickly followed so excellent a composure throughout the whole kingdom, that the like peace and plenty and tranquillity for ten years was never enjoyed by any nation."[4]

But the repose was only such as ensues when mortification has supervened upon some deadly

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[1] "Cromwell.," Carlyle, i. 85.

[2] The Speaker refused, "by his Majesty's command," to put the question, and left the chair. Hollis and Valentine dragged him back, swearing, "God's wounds, he should stay there as long as the House chose." Sir Thomas Esmond and his friends strove to rescue the Speaker. Coriton and others drew their swords, and amid tears, groans, imprecations, and shouts, Sir Michael Hobart locked the door.—*Hume, Forster, D'Israeli.*

[3] D'Israeli, in his "Commentaries," says "the King now corrected two great vices, war and favouritism;" he had still insincerity, the most fatal and difficult to correct.

[4] Clar. "Reb.": May "Parl. Hist." says differently.

wound: the disease that inwardly consumed the nation was fast increasing under the hectic mask of health: the stern Parliamentary physicians[1] watched its progress patiently from afar or from prison, biding their time.[2] While the constitutional struggle lasted, the courtiers were under strong constraint, the King anxious, the Queen intimidated, and the Court at large very gloomy. But now, all was changed; holiday times returned, pomp and luxury increased: the young and thoughtless Queen introduced the social life of Paris as successfully as her husband imitated its political *régime*. Despotism had all its own way: the King practised it; the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts pampered it; the pulpit preached it; the judges pandered to it; and the people cursed it in their deep hearts.

The King's real ministers at this time were Archbishop Laud, Lord Strafford, and the Marquis of Hamilton: the Archbishop, as treasurer, had discharged his difficult trust with integrity, ability, and even justice, where his religious convictions were not concerned: he looked at life only professionally, and conceived his highest temporal duty consisted in advancing the supremacy of his Church: with this, the strength of royal prerogative was so closely

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1 "The House is the Physician of our maladies."—Pym.

2 Sir John Eliot, Sir Miles Hobart, Holles, Hayman, Selden, Coriton, Long, Strode, and Valentine, were sent to the Tower, to be imprisoned "during the King's pleasure," which, said the caitiff judges, prevented bail being taken.

united as to make its champion very useful and acceptable to the King's present position.[1] Strafford was then Lord Deputy, or Viceroy of Ireland: an office from all time the most difficult in the world to discharge. He found that extraordinary island luxuriating in the feuds and factions that seemed to be its dearest privilege, and that utter discord between every man and thing that only hostility to England could even for a moment reconcile. Endowed apparently with every gift, and every capability except the art of making use of either, Ireland and its people lay prostrate at the feet of England. It was a fine field for the exercise of Wentworth's commanding genius: he dealt with it as a conquered country, and by the stern simplicity of martial law, he at once repressed the chronic insurrectionary spirit, and crushed the petty system of legislation that only served to irritate the people, and disgust them with English laws. His imperious nature disdained the bondage of precedent; he turned his searching glance on the fiscal abuses that had prevailed and been tolerated by his predecessors: by this inquisition he quadrupled the King's revenue in a few years;[2] he stimulated com-

[1] The conscientiousness and good intentions of Laud seem incontestible; exorbitant in his ambitious views for his Order, he seems to have had none for himself; fiercely cruel and intolerant, he was himself a patient and noble martyr; abrupt and offensive in his manner, he was gentle and humble in his heart. See an interesting conversation between him and "Mr. Hyde."—*Clarendon's Life*, i. 62; *Heylin ubique*. Appendix B.

[2] From 10,000*l*. to 40,000*l*.

merce;[1] he promoted agriculture; he disciplined, paid, and recruited the army; suppressed its disorders, and elevated its character. The government of Strafford[2] was arbitrary, and even tyrannical; but it stayed and absorbed that minor and universal licence of oppression that had so long worried and degraded Ireland. The people of that unintelligible country grew wealthier in the midst of exactions, and happier by oppression.[3] Strafford knew the effect of appearances on the impressible minds of his new vassals and (for the first time that it had been so done in Ireland) he assumed almost royal state.[4] But such outward pageants were only symbolic of the more than royal power within, which for the first time in history brought Ireland utterly and confessedly under English rule: the King was there absolute.[5]

In Scotland the Marquis of Hamilton was the

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[1] He crushed the woollen trade, it is true, but he created that of linens.

[2] There is a very able and interesting life of Strafford in Mr. Forster's "Statesmen of the Commonwealth." M. Guizot also has done justice to the power and energy of his character. (Rev. d'Angl. i. 72.) His own letters in the "Strafford Papers," vol. i. pp. 61, 79, 81, &c., form the best commentary on his extraordinary career,—extraordinary in his having done so much as a man, and yet more extraordinary in his not having done more, being such a man.

[3] Hallam, i. 454. [He oppressed the oppressors, and protected the Irish from themselves,—a great desideratum.]

[4] Howell (p. 274), writes thus from Dublin, 1639:—"Here is a most splendid Court kept at the Castle, and except that of the Viceroy of Naples, I have not seen the like in Christendom."

[5] See Strafford's Letter to Laud, Dec. 16, 1634, "Memoirs of Lord Clanricarde."

Royal minister. The King selected him for that most important post with his usual want of discernment, and adhered to him throughout all his misdoings with his usual infatuated affection. "In politics a mistake is worse than a crime,"[1] and the Marquis was never innocent in this respect. His whole public career, from his inglorious service in the Swede's glorious campaigns, to his discomfiture at Utoxeter, was one succession of ignominious failures. His official life was equally marked by the absence of straightforwardness, honesty and success, and he had his reward: mistrusted by all parties, the people of England hated him;[2] the people of Scotland refused even to treat with him;[3] Montrose denounced his treachery;[4] Essex was hostile to him;[5] the Covenanters loathed, the King imprisoned, and the Parliament beheaded him.[6]

To this personage was confided the *management* of Scotland, whilst a good understanding was practicable; the invasion, when his tampering and faithless policy had rendered such an understanding impossible. For the intriguing favourite had endeavoured to advance the Covenanters' as well as the

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[1] Talleyrand.

[2] Clar. Rebel. i. 268; Warwick's Memoirs.

[3] At Ripon.—*Lodge.*

[4] For transmitting the King's secrets to the Covenanters.—*Napier's Montrose.*

[5] Clar. Rebel. i. 212.

[6] Bishop Burnet and Mr. Lodge are his eulogists: the former, a time-serving dissembler, was well adapted to be the biographer of such a patron: the latter, useful as are his meritorious labours, is necessarily unequal, and often very favourably prejudiced.

Royal cause, and to render himself the arbiter of each: to this end he unscrupulously betrayed both, and ultimately left himself powerless to serve either.[1] The contrast between Lords Hamilton and Strafford was complete, and exemplified in the result of their respective governments. The former, out of a country, whose interests had been pampered by two native sovereigns,[2] distilled the covenanting element of evil that first and last was most fatal to the Sovereign's cause: the latter, out of a rebellious, neglected, and ill-used nation, raised up, with one terrible exception a constant and unvarying support for his Royal master.

Whilst these two ministers thus ruled Scotland and Ireland, Laud was equally dominant in England. By this Triumvirate and the King were monopolised those powers that the King and Parliament only were competent to discharge.

And all this time the people submitted peacefully to the usurpation that had converted their free constitution into a despotism, their bishops into satellites, their judges into slaves—that had assumed the disposal of life and property, had abolished

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[1] Doubtless this unhappy nobleman had some affection for the King (of which indeed none of the ill-chosen royal friends could ever divest themselves), but his first devotion was to self. He afterwards repented bitterly of his errors, and died bravely in their expiation. He was nearly related to the King by blood, and shared his passion for paintings; of the latter he seems rather to have been an enthusiastic collector than enlightened lover.

[2] The phrase "Scott-free," in James his tyme ye Scotts escaped for crimes that hanged Englishmen.—*Ward*, 1668.

parliament, and suppressed all liberty of conscience. They submitted peacefully, for they still cherished affection and respect for the throne, and reverenced their government, even in its perversions.

But, another spirit was gaining ground: men did not know at first that they were enslaved, no more than Charles knew that he was become a despot. It is interesting to observe, when the fact at length became too flagrant, how awkwardly and reluctantly the Parliament set themselves to oppose despotism, how *naïvely* Charles appealed to his people, as if his cause were theirs. The first symptom, indeed, of defection was exhibited not in resistance, but in flight. The New World offered a boundless and secure asylum to the persecuted victims of the Old; amongst her broad savannahs and vast rivers there was room for the exercise of all energy and all hope. Thither numbers of the more enterprising and zealous dissenters from Church and State betook themselves; they carried with them considerable treasure, and the better wealth of industry and resolution.[1] Even this refuge, however, was

[1] Such were the sources of prosperity of the greatest colony the world ever saw. The emigrants were, for the most part, men of education and strong political and religious affections: "the hands that wielded the axe or guided the canoe in the morning, opened the page of history and philosophy in the evening." No wonder the descendants of such men were prompt to remember at Boston the free principles of their Pilgrim Fathers. Amongst these was the younger Sir Henry Vane, who transported to Massachusetts the wild religious and political theories that England

soon denied to "the disaffected;" instead of "building a golden bridge" for their flying enemies, the infatuated Council of the King laid an embargo on outward-bound vessels containing emigrants, and thus brought many desperate and solute men to bay.[1]

But the endurance of the men of England was daily put to a more trying test; every successful invasion of their rights was taken as a proof that they would bear still more. Cruel expedients to raise revenue were put in practice; odious monopolies invaded the comfort of every man's fireside, and there was no redress, or any prospect thereof.[2]

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refused to listen to; there, however, they found no resting-place: "solum non animum," the emigrants had changed nothing but their soil; they were as fiercely controversial and intolerant as any of those they had left behind. Vane was, indeed, elected governor, but soon displaced. "Even New England," says his zealous friend Sikes, "could not bear all his words, though there was no King's court or King's chapel." He returned to England in time to give a death-blow to Strafford, by means of papers purloined from his worthless father. Those who wish to know all that can be said in favour of this shrewd fanatic, may consult *Forster*, iii. 28, &c.; *Hochelaga*, ii. pp. 150, 249, 290.

[1] Among these were *not* Cromwell and Hampden, however, as Miss Aikin was the first to prove. It was on occasion of the "Remonstrance" passing the House of Commons (if at all) that Cromwell said, "If it had failed he would have sold all that he had the next morning, and never seen England more."—*Clar. Rebel.* Lords Brooke, and Say and Sele, had arranged for themselves a refuge beyond seas.—See *Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors*, ii. 352. Cowley, too, thought of emigrating.

[2] A list of some of the articles made subjects of monopoly may be surprising: (it is to be remembered that all these were not only rendered scarce and dear, but abominably adulterated; and all to enrich some courtier by the fee that the speculator paid for his patent:) salt, soap [very grievous], coal, iron, [the Marquis

The extension of the royal forests,[1] the inquisition into titles of estates,[2] and, last of all, "for a spring and magazine that should have no bottom, and for an everlasting supply of all occasions,"[3] the impost of ship-money, "a word of lasting sound in the memory of this kingdom." Had the produce of this tax even prevented pirates from infesting St. George's Channel, it might have been tolerated; had it even been in the shape of a loan, contracted under urgent circumstances, and for an occasion, it might have been borne; but, when it was found that the judges, "to their reproach and infamy,"[4] adjudged this impost to be legal, "they discovered that no man had any longer anything that he could truly call his own; they felt, moreover, that this tax was laid upon them by the judges, and not by the King," and that therefore its payment was no longer a

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of Hamilton's monopoly] leather, linen, feathers, cards and dice, lace, tobacco, barrels, beer, distilled liquors, salt herrings, butter, potash, catgut, spectacles, combs, saltpetre, gunpowder, paper rags, hops, buttons, &c.—*Guizot, Rev. d'Angl.* i. 83. "Nothing too mean or foul for Vespasian." "These," said Sir John Culpepper, "like the frogs of Egypt, have gotten possession of our dwellings, and we have scarcely a room free from them: they sip in our cup, they dip in our dish, they sit by our fire; we find them in the dye-vat, washing-bowl, and powdering-box. They share with the butler in his pantry; they have marked us from head to foot; they will not bate us a pin."—*May's Hist. of the Parliament.*

[1] The forest of Rockingham was enlarged from six to sixty miles in circuit. The New Forest was enlarged almost to the ruin of Lord Southampton, and Richmond Park was created out of private property.—*Hallam.* See p. 76 of this work.

[2] Hume, ch. 52.

[3] Clar. "Reb." i. 120.

[4] Ib. i. 124.

test of loyalty.[1] It was then that Hampden stood up and struck at this keystone of the tyranny that overarched the land, and, with St. John and Holborne for his advocates, and justice for his cause, turned the eyes of the whole nation upon his great question. After twenty-four days' trial the legality of the tax was affirmed by a base majority of the judges, and thenceforth it continued for some time to produce 200,000*l.* per annum to the Crown.

This, and other disgraceful contrivances for raising money, was scarcely sufficient to support the ordinary expenses of the Court; but, when (A. D. 1639) the Scots betook themselves to arms, such sources proved quite unequal to the new emergency. Then Laud shewed his sincerity, and proved the zeal of the clergy by raising from his own order, from the Roman Catholics, and from other "extra-parliamentary"[2] sources, sufficient sums to enable the King to lead an unwilling army against those men of the "League and Covenant."[3]

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[1] Lord Clarendon remarks that "in former times, even when the prerogative went highest, never any *court of law* was called upon to assist in an act of [arbitrary] power; the Crown well knowing the moment of keeping those the objects of reverence and veneration with the people . . . as the asylum for their liberties and security."

[2] Carlyle, i. 131.

[3] Charles endeavoured to conciliate the Scots through the Marquis of Hamilton, provided they would give up their Covenant. They replied, "they would sooner renounce their baptism," and coolly advised his Majesty "to tak it himsel."

The first resistance to Laud's canons and liturgy broke out among the mob, who were compared to Balaam's ass by the divines, "stupid in themselves, but inspired for the occasion to utter truth." When the dean, proceeding with the service, said,

Our principal concern with this army is the relation that it bore to the King's future forces, and the development of the characters that appear more permanently afterwards in the English wars. Miserably provided for, ill-disciplined, discouraged, and disgraced, the soldiers were little calculated to impart a high tone to future armaments. They were officered with characteristic ill-judgment: the King had a fond woman's confidence in the prowess of those whom he loved, and gave his favourites credit for statesmanship, strategy, and even seamanship, according as he had use for those qualities. The Marquis of Hamilton was sent to the Frith of Forth with a stout fleet and 5000 troops: he passed his time there in his usual intrigues, without landing a man or drawing a trigger.[1] Lord Arundel commanded the main army: he was a man of honour, it is true, and had some taste for diplomacy and the fine arts, but was utterly unqualified to command even this pageant of an army.[2] Lord Holland, a man without virtue, valour, honesty, or experience, com-

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"Let us read the collect of the day," Jenny Geddes started up, and flinging a folding stool at the dean's head, exclaimed, "De'il *colic* the wame o' thee! Thou foul thief! wilt thou say mass at my lug?"—*Carlyle's Life of Cromwell*, i. 123.

[1] The Covenanting chiefs were in constant communication with him, and the Scotch were agreeably surprised at his quiescence. —*Napier's Montrose*, i. 249. *Warwick*. Baillie says, "It was evident he eschewed all occasion of beginning the war; he did not trouble a man on shore with a shot."

[2] "The soldiers were the least part of the army, and the least consulted with."—*Clar. Reb.* i. 206.

manded the cavalry; and if the brave Essex[1] was associated with these two incapable men, it was in a capacity that rendered his high qualities of no avail. The army itself was composed of equally incongruous materials; the leading gentlemen of the country were expected—each to furnish, and many to maintain—their own men.[2] It may be easily

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[1] Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was born in 1592, and in the twelfth year of his age was restored by James I. to the dignities (as he was afterwards to the estates,) forfeited by his father's attainder. In 1620 he was prevailed on by Lord Oxford to join him in raising troops to serve in the Palatinate. In the following year he served as volunteer under Prince Maurice of Nassau. On the close of this campaign he returned to England, and appeared in opposition to the measures of the Court. He afterwards retired for some years to private life, reappeared as vice-admiral of a squadron appointed for the defence of the coast, and received from Charles the commission of lieutenant-general, under the Earl of Arundel, in 1639. The Pacification of Berwick caused him much chagrin, which was heightened by some personal slights. The King afterwards endeavoured to conciliate him by the gift of various offices and honours; whilst, on the other hand, the Parliament endeavoured (and with success) to bespeak his services on their side. When the King, on quitting London, January, 1642, demanded his attendance, he declined, alleging his duties in Parliament. The King then dismissed him from his office of chamberlain, and from this moment Essex publicly threw himself into the hands of the Puritans, who, in the following July, appointed him general-in-chief of their army, the Parliament adding to their vote the singular declaration that "they would live and die with him."

Lord Essex was married in 1606 to Lady Frances Howard; the unhappy result of which alliance, and their subsequent separation, are well known; nor was his second marriage with a daughter of Sir William Pawlett much more fortunate.

[2] Clar. Rebel. i. 205. Among these were Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, who commanded one thousand of the Yorkshire "trayned bands," and his son Thomas, who had a troop in the same regiment. See *Fairfax Correspondence*, i. 355 and 372, for this and a melancholy account of the sufferings and privations en-

imagined how variously these forces were equipped and provided for. One coxcomb troop, raised by Sir John Suckling, was clothed in white doublets, with scarlet coats, breeches, feathers, and *hats:* others came as they had left the plough, and many grim old veterans bore arms and armour that had seen service under the Swede. The whole amounted (on paper) to about 17,000 foot and 3,500 horse,[1] independently of those who were cooped up on board the Hamilton fleet off Leith. Little was feared from this ill-disciplined and demoralized army by the blythe and stubborn Scots, who were comfortably housed, daintily fed, and well paid for doing their own will.[2] They were well assured, moreover, of the indisposition of the English to oppose them, and were well acquainted with their pitiable condition: without pay, rations, or even tents, without a cause to care for, or a leader in whom to trust, the dispirited Royalists exhibited a sad contrast to their exulting antagonists.[3]

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tailed upon men and officers by the extraordinary want of arrangement on the part of the authorities.

[1] Ferdinando Fairfax's letter.—*Fairfax Cor.* i. 359.

[2] Baillie says chucklingly, "We were better 'answered' than we could have been at home: our meanest soldiers were always served in wheat bread, and a groat would have gotten them a lamb leg, which was a dainty world to the most of them .... Harry Rollock by his sermons moved them (in Edinburgh) to shake out their purses, and the garners of non-Covenanters gave us plenty of wheat." He adds, "that he found the favour of God shining upon him, and a sweet, meek, (!) humble, yet strong and vehement spirit leading him all along."—*Letters,* i. 200.

[3] "Our army," says Baillie, "was not more than 12,000 men, but it would have done your heart good to have cast your

However, as Lord Clarendon relates, "the King had more intended the pomp of his preparations than the strength of them, and did still believe that one would save the labour of the other," and so he advanced to the very borders of Scotland, "and encamped in an open field, called the Berkes, near Berwick." It was on the 3rd of June[1] that Lord Holland set forward to meet the advancing Scots: he commanded a force sufficient, under a Montrose, to have conquered Scotland: it consisted of

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eyes athwart our brave and rich hill . . well garnished on the top with our mounted cannon, near to the number of forty, great and small . . . It was thought the county of England was more afraid for the barbarity of his (Argyle's, who as usual was out of harm's way, plotting darkly) Highlanders than for any other terror. Those of the English that came to visit our camp, did gaze with much admiration upon those souple fellows with their plaids, targes, and dorlachs (or *skenes*). Our captains, for the most part barons or gentlemen of good note; our lieutenants, almost all soldiers who had served over the sea in good charges; every company had flying at the captain's tent-door, a brave new colour, stamped with the Scotch arms, and this ditton, 'For Christ's crown and covenant,' in golden letters. Our soldiers were all lusty and full of courage, the most of them stout young ploughmen . . great cheerfulness in the face of all. The sight of the nobles and their pastors daily raised their hearts; the good sermons and prayers daily under the roof of heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells (true there was cursing and brawling in some quarters, whereat we were grieved); the remonstrance very frequent of the goodness of their cause, of their conduct hitherto by a hand clearly divine. Also Leslie, his skill and fortune made them all resolute for battle as could be wished. Such was the wisdom and valour of that old, little, crooked soldier, that all with incredible submission gave themselves over to be guided by him as if he had been great Solomon."—*Baillie's Letters.*

[1] Baker's Chronicle, 486. Baillie's Letters. Clarendon says August, confounding this disgrace with Lord Conway's in the next campaign.

"3,000 foot, 2,000 horse, and a fit train of artillery." When the Earl came with his horse to Dunce,[1] he found old Leslie there, with about 3,000 ill-armed but well-commanded Scotsmen,[2] whom he had placed in a fine position on a commanding hill-side. Holland halted irresolutely; he had neither heart to make a forward dash with his cavalry, nor sense enough to form, and wait for his infantry and artillery. The Scots, observing his perplexity, increased it by sending a "trumpet" to inquire, "Wha be ye, who come in warlike array into our land?" Holland seems to have thought the question required no answer, for he made in return his only further demonstration, by sending *his* trumpet to request the Scots would "go away!" Meanwhile he sent orders to his foot to halt until he had received their answer: it was brief, and contemptuously significant, "It were best for Lord Holland to be gone." Whereupon "this courtier[3] lord, with a sword by his side, and a King's honour

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[1] Heath, p. 10, says it was Dunslo, evidently meaning Dunsie-law. Baker (*Chronicle*) calls it Dunse.

[2] Clar. Reb. i. 210.

[3] Rushw. ii. 936; Nalson i. 231; Fairfax Corres. i. 375. I would not be suspected of false and vulgar imputation against court-bred men: they have almost always fought with gallantry. Holland would have been a poltroon anywhere, as he was a coxcomb and traitor everywhere. Soon afterwards he escaped from a duel with Lord Newcastle under rather discreditable circumstances, by allowing time for the King to interfere. Not that this fearful mode of atonement is to be defended for a moment when refused on moral or religious grounds: but where the challenged professes neither, he must be differently judged.—*Clar. Reb.*, i. 221.

in his keeping, wheeled about from his ragged enemy, retreated to the King, and fled away from the Thermopylæ of the cause."

This was the only approach to action, after all the pompous preparation for this war; but not the only time that the enemy were in sight: the King himself caught a glimpse of his Scotch subjects "all plaided and plumed, in their tartan array;" and so negligent were his officers, that he alone *did* see them, with the exception of Sir John Biron, who called attention to their warlike array as his Majesty was coming off parade.

The Scotch leaders having now discovered that their King had as little intention, as power to make war upon them, became more decided in their advances. They sent letters to each of the three generals, Arundel, Essex, and Holland. Essex received the communication as a soldier should, refusing to see the messenger, and transmitting his papers, unopened, to the King; Lord Arundel grasped at a chance of feeling himself at home on diplomatic ground, and negotiated; Holland received the messenger with open arms, and at once entered into his dangerous opponents' views. The deputies of the two nations at length came together; the Scotch were Lords Rothes, Dunfermline, and Loudon, Sir William Douglas, Alexander Henderson (the divine), and Archibald Johnston: the English were Lords Essex, Salisbury, Holland, and Berkshire, Sir Harry Vane, and Secretary Coke.

They had assembled in Lord Arundel's tent (June 11th 1639),[1] and, were about to enter upon business, when the King unexpectedly entering, took his seat at the council-table. He then addressed the Scotch lords with courtesy, in these wise words, "You have complained, my lords, that your desires are not heard; therefore I have come myself, that you may be certain of an audience." The deputies seem to have been taken by surprise at this straightforward and manly address. They made a reply which seems moderate indeed, considering their position,—"Asking only for a general amnesty; for a determination in all civil affairs by their Parliament; in all ecclesiastical, by their Kirk."

In a word, the Pacification of Berwick professed to be complete,[2] but "it said peace, where there was no peace:" the tide of war, however, retired for the present from the field into the haunts of private life. There, "nursing their wrath to keep it warm," the cunning Scots indulged their animosities in a quiet way, prepared for future rebellion, and cherished their soldiery as if they had not quite done with

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[1] Rushworth, iii. 960. Lord Hamilton arrived after the treaty was concluded, "just in time," says Lord Clarendon, "to be able to find fault with it."

[2] Clarendon thinks, and apparently with some reason, that the King never *intended* to strike a blow, as he sent orders to Holland not to engage (who, however, was in full retreat before he received them); but, how then could he have written to Hamilton "to let him loose upon the rebels to do what injury he could?" To make a demonstration without being *prepared* to follow it up is the weakest and worst form of political gambling.

them.[1] The King of England, on the other hand, dismissed his army ungraciously,[2] parted from the noble Essex without one kindly expression, and soon afterwards refused him the rangership of Needwood Forest, which lay close to his own park, and was anxiously desired by him. With almost equal want of judgment he declined meeting the Scotch Parliament in person, as he had promised[3] to do, and retired precipitately into England.

Much harm had been done by this mock-warlike demonstration; yet, if the King had done what was to be done, upon the spot, he might have had cause to rejoice in the expedition: he had favourably impressed the better spirits among the Covenanters; he had placed the factions in a false position, by assenting to all the honest demands with which they masked their ulterior projects; and, if he had done nothing else, he had won the

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[1] Baillie says for himself and fellows, "even if the Prince give way to our *supplications* ['Charity, for the honour of God!' said the beggar with the cocked pistol,] we wot not *where to stand*... whatever the Prince grants, I fear we press more than he can grant, and when we are fully satisfied, it is likely England will begin where we have left off." Quoted by Mr. Napier (*Montrose*, i. 298), who adds, "how accurately in this sentence has Baillie epitomized the history of his party."

[2] Clarendon's Rebellion, i. 220.

[3] For this he had some excuse, however, as of fourteen Covenanting peers, whom he had invited to attend his progress to Edinburgh, only three, Montrose, Rothes, and Lothian, obeyed his summons, and "his majesty was so disgusted with the insulting excuses sent by the rest, as to return to London (on the 29th June), and forego his intention of trusting himself in the hands of this faithless and unprincipled faction." — *Bishop Guthrie*, quoted by Mr. Napier, *Montrose*, &c., i. 229.

chivalrous Montrose to his cause for ever. That flower of Cavaliers was at once converted by the fascination that had "thawed even the cold heart" of a Covenanter;[1] and, surely, the Monarch who had such inevitable influence upon all heroic natures that he suffered to approach him, must have had something heroic in his own.

But the moral disadvantages that the King incurred by the expedition, infinitely outweighed all else: his reputation had suffered in the eyes of Europe, and his own subjects had learned a dangerous lesson: the most warlike spirits of England had been too long in the contagious neighbourhood of the Covenanters not to imbibe something of their feverish temper, and they then formed those associations which they afterwards so fatally renewed.[2]

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[1] Baillie says, referring to the conference at Berwick, "His Majesty was much delighted with Henderson's discourses, but not so with Johnston's. It is likely his Majesty's ear had never been tickled with such discourses, yet *he* was the *most patient of them all*, and loving of clear reason. His majesty was ever the longer the better loved of all them that heard him, as one of the most just, reasonable, sweet persons they had ever seen."—*Letters*, i. 301.

[2] Among the evils of this failure, one of the least was not the appointment of the worthless Sir Harry Vane as secretary, "by the dark contrivances of the Marquis of Hamilton, and by the open and visible power of the Queen."—*Clar. Rebel.* i. 222. It seems that some one was necessary as a scape-goat for the disgraces of the expedition, and poor Mr. Secretary Coke ("for whom nobody cared"), and who was fourscore years of age, was made the victim. Strafford violently opposed Vane's appointment to the vacancy; but the Queen at last prevailed. Vane remembered Strafford's opposition at his trial, when his son traitorously and dishonourably brought about his doom.

Every one felt, too, that the war had only been postponed; a capital mistake, by which the elements of future success were mortgaged to present ease.[1]

The Scottish Parliament soon behaved itself after such a fashion that Charles adjourned it on pain of treason; a penalty little feared by men who had braved their King in the field, and been plotting, even with France, against him ever since.

The King now found that he had laid aside the sword too soon: the army he had ungraciously dismissed was again summoned to attend him to the war. It was found necessary, however, at the same time, to summon the great paymaster, a Parliament, for every "extra-Parliamentary" source had been drained dry. They met (on the 13th of April); the King asked for money, the Commons for redress; neither party obtained its desires. The SHORT PARLIAMENT was dissolved (on the 5th of May).[2]

Meanwhile the Convocation, a sort of clerical parliament, was still left sitting: its principal acts were a vote of money "from the spirituality" towards the Scotch war, and an oath[3] only limited by

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[1] "Non si debbe mai lasciar una disordine per fuggire una guerra, perché ella non si fuggi ma si differisce a tuo disavantaggio."—*Il Principe.* Charles always consulted Machiavelli in the wrong place.

[2] "Moche said and little mended,
The treasury in pawne and the Parliament ended,"

a brief but comprehensive epitaph, in *Black Tom's Garland.*

[3] This celebrated oath ran thus: "Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c."—*Neal's Puritans,* ii. 203.

an *et cætera*, to maintain everything belonging to the Church within that somewhat vague limitation. To aid the supplies furnished by the Church, the Court party liberally contributed: 300,000*l.*, a large sum in those days, was furnished by private individuals, and it proves the affection in which Charles was held by his own party.[1] Nevertheless, it fell far short of his necessities, and an attempt was made to raise money by a forced loan on the city: this was found to be impracticable; a few Spanish merchants, who had unfortunately trusted some bullion to the royal protection, alone suffered; they paid 40,000*l.* for their credulity.

Another reluctant and wavering army was in the field, another incapable general to lead them, another and a worse disgrace ensued. The army this time amounted to 19,000 foot and 2,000 horse. The Earl of Northumberland nominally general-in-chief, Lord Strafford lieutenant-general, and Lord Conway general of the horse. The latter was sent forward, with 4,500 men, to dispute the passage of the Tyne: where old Leslie[2] with his Covenanters was

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The infliction of this oath upon all ecclesiastical and academical persons was a fruitful source of triumph and anathema to the Dissenters. Vicars, in his *Jehovah Jireh*, thus indulges himself upon it:—"that monstrous *et cetera* oath! that prodigious hydra, that bottomless abyss!"

[1] Lord Strafford gave 20,000*l.*, the Duke of Richmond 40,000*l.*, Laud, 18,000*l.*, others 5,000*l.*, and the rest according to their estates. The clergy gave 4*s.* in the pound."—*Heath's Chronicle*, p. 11. *Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 144.

[2] "The little crooked Felt marshal, who had engaged to fight in the leading-strings of a Covenanting committee, now again saw

already arrived. The latter sent a most civil message to his lordship, stating that they were only proceeding to York, as loyal subjects, to wait upon their King. Lord Conway held his ground against all their messengers, but gave way at once to their artillery. Wilmot, with a few Cavaliers, shewed some fight; for the rest, all dissolved into utter and ignominious rout; Conway was the first to reach York!

Then followed the Treaty of Ripon (Oct. 1), consummating in council the disgraces of the field. The Scotch reformers were to occupy the counties of Northumberland, Westmoreland, the bishoprick (as they loved to call it) of Durham, and the town of Newcastle, until the February following; holding the north of England in pawn, as it were, for the pay which they allotted to themselves. Baillie, one of their preachers, thus sums up their gains: "300,000*l.* sterling—5,408,000 merks Scots! —is a pretty sum in our land, besides the 25,000*l.* sterling for the fifth month coming! Yet the hearty giving of it to us, as to their brethren, refreshed us as much as the money itself."[1] The English Parliament, in fact, were subsidizing these Scotchmen to do their work, and they did it hand-

himself surrounded by that motley host of black gowns and blue bonnets which composed the fantastic ranks of the kirk-militant, and not a man of them with a certain or sane view of their precise plan or purpose."—*Montrose and the Covenanters*, i. 317.

[1] Letters and Journals. This money was charged by the Parliament to the King's account.—*Hobbes.*

somely. The Presbyterian commissioners were now invited to London, where they were enthusiastically welcomed by the Puritans: the movement against Church as well as State had already set powerfully in.[1]

The Earl of Northumberland's illness or ill affection for the royal cause had left Lord Strafford in command of the Northern army. His genius was soon not only felt but manifested. Regardless of the uncompleted armistice, contemptuous of the mutinous spirit of the troops, he was resolved to strike one blow at the Scots before his arm was paralyzed. A body of horse of Holland's (Conway's horse) was paraded; marched away on the moment; led against the enemy, cheerily, manfully, and with a resolution that carried all before it. In a single hour the spirit of the English army was restored; the confidence that had forsaken the young soldiers at Newburn, returned in full tide as they dashed through the streets of Durham after the flying Scots.

[1] "The King retires to London, and Scotch commissioners are sent up thither, and they, both by the Parliament and city, are looked upon as angells of light; and they frequent the congregations of the chief dissenting presbyters, who from all quarters of the kingdom flow up to this city; as if they mene to convert an unsanctified heathen nation, and Timothy and Titus are upon all occasions proved not to have been bishops, as a distinct order from Presbyters, and the rites of the Church of no better appellation than superstitions; and the bowing at the name of *Jesus* hath a book written against it with no less title than 'Jesus-worship confuted;' so as if a Mahometan had heard it cryed in the streets to be sold, as it was (as I heard a gentleman say passing by), surely he might justly have thought, this nation at that time was denying their Saviour."—*by Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 152.

But vain were the deeds as the words of a Strafford against the weak wilfulness of a Stuart. Well was it for us and for our liberties that Charles knew neither how to conquer or to yield! He endeavoured to atone for the brief triumph of his arms by making more abject concessions to the Scots, who met with no further opposition from sword or pen: when the Treaty of Ripon was signed, there was an end to the King's authority among the Covenanters: and thenceforward they pleased themselves as best they might, in the midst of feuds, and factions, and the fiercest controversies. It was their own fault if Scotland did not now exhibit the perfection of political and religious happiness. The result of this last campaign had left the King entirely without resource. He summoned a Council of his Peers to York, but even they had advised the summons of the greater council of the nation, the long insulted and now avenging Parliament. Charles once more reluctantly assented; he invited all that was most able, most dangerous, and most hostile in his kingdom, to meet together — to demand from him, their King, an account of his stewardship.

The LONG PARLIAMENT met on the 3rd of November.[1] The King approached the House privately,

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[1] Laud was advised to defer the day as being one of evil omen. On this day Wolsey's parliament was opened, which was fatal to the minister and ultimately to the Roman Church in England. Laud, of whom it might be said, as Lord Morton said of John

going thither by water in his barge, instead of with the usual state and ceremony. He encountered an array in that Parliament more awful than ever confronted him on the battle-field: not only the "hip and thigh," and "root and branch" reformers stood lowering there; but the wiser, though less subtle statesmen, whose hearts only yearned for an honorable peace,—these were also the King's opponents in his Parliament. Pym and Hampden had been "riding a circuit" of all England to collect and to distribute statistics of the people's wrongs; St. John and Holles had digested and arranged a record of these wrongs, Fiennes and Vane had dilated on them. Falkland, Hyde, Rudyard,[1] Selden, were also there, pleading the people's wrongs; —WRONGS!—that word rang through all England, and the real rights of the oppressor were for a time overwhelmed and silenced in the sound.

The Reforming party at once displayed so formidable a strength in Parliament as to be able to dictate terms to the King. Their plans were well

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Knox, "he never feared the face of mortal man," disregarded the omen,—"he cared not for these things" (!)*—*Whitelocke.*

[1] The strong and stirring eloquence of this time is fairly represented in Sir Benjamin Rudyard's honest and manly speeches. I take them to be the best specimens of the practical eloquence of the time; earnest, yet playful at due seasons,—full of the shrewdest sense and keenest sarcasm,—free and chivalrous and high-spirited, reverential of the king, scornful of the tyrant.

* This seems strange: but he was only imaginative about omens; he was superior to their influence.

matured, their confidence in their cause unbounded. Almost every member bore in his hand a petition from his constituents, which but served him as a text whereon to preach about their grievances. At once, forty committees were appointed for the consideration of these wrongs, and five Grand Committees (consisting of the whole House) for trade, religion, Ireland, courts of justice, and general grievances. These Grand Committees thenceforth assumed virtually a jurisdiction over all the affairs of the empire; they summoned whom they chose, imprisoned or released whom they would,[1] appointed a day for a general fast, and fraternised with the "traitorous Scots."[2]

This Parliament was but a week old, when it proceeded to impeach Lord Strafford. Often as his memorable trial has been described, it seems impossible to omit all mention of it in a record of the Cavaliers, the doomed and devoted supporters of the House of Stuart. On the 11th of November, the doors were closed, strangers were excluded, and Pym assailed his great adversary in a speech of consummate artifice and power. The House was carried away by the fervour and passion of his eloquence;

[1] Amongst the first of these were Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, Leighton, and Lilburne, then suffering under sentence of the High Court of Commission and the Star Chamber.

[2] This epithet was scarcely misapplied to men who were at this moment proved to have solicited (through Loudon and Richelieu) the aid of France against the King. True patriotism never yet sought foreign assistance: the Scots probably only wished for subsidies.

the accuser had given utterance to thoughts that struggled in every breast: there was but one dissentient voice, it was that of Lord Falkland. Pym straightway appeared at the bar of the House of Lords with the impeachment.

"As soon as Mr. Pym withdrew, the Lords began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion.[1] The word goes in haste to the Lord Lieutenant where he was with the King. With speed he comes to the House, he calls rudely at the door; James Maxwell, Keeper of the Black Rod, opens. His Lordship, with a proud, gloomy countenance, makes towards his place at the board head;[2] but at once many bade him quit the House, so he is forced, in confusion, to go to the door until he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to *kneel*, and on his knees to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delivered to the Keeper of the Black Rod, to be prisoner till he was cleared of those crimes the House of Commons had charged him with. He offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his

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[1] Baillie, in his "Letters," says this, and what follows; but, surely, Lords Bedford and Essex, Kimbolton, Say, and others, knew as well as Pym what to expect. The sudden manifestation of the lords towards Strafford shews that the feeling was general.

[2] According to Lord Clarendon, Strafford had heard nothing of the matter until he reached the House of Lords, whither he went on ordinary business, "but he was scarcely entered into the House of Peers, when the message from the Commons was called in."—*Hist. Rebel.* i. 350.

coach; all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom, that morning, the greatest of England would have stood uncovered."[1]

This is a graphic description; the more so as it leaves the circumstances to speak for themselves to the reader's mind. That proud, tyrannical man, struck down in a moment from the height of power; humbled and insulted in the face of all England; silenced and put away into prison like one of his own victims! So reasoned and exulted his enemies, who knew that in him they had also humbled his sovereign.

The sudden and fearful change came upon Strafford in a moment, from the quarter in which he had least feared it; the talent, energy, and unacknowledged authority of a demagogue hurled him at once from his "pride of place" into helpless and forlorn captivity. But Strafford was ever superior to circumstances; he now compelled even his evil destiny to do him honour, by encountering it with lofty self-possession and magnanimity. Henceforth, until "that wisest head in England"[2] was bowed upon the scaffold, the whole interest of the time was concentrated on his fate and the principles with which it was associated. Strafford's impeachment, defence,

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[1] Baillie's "Letters," vol. i. p. 217.

[2] "On this 12th of May, I beheld on Tower Hill the fatal stroke which severed the wisest head in England from the shoulders of the Earl of Strafford; whose crime coming under the cognizance of no human law, a new one was made, not to be a precedent, but his destruction."—*Evelyn's Diary.*

betrayal by the King, and dying scene contain one of the sublimest tragedies to be found in history.

This first great offering at the shrine of English freedom was soon followed by that of his friend and coadjutor Laud. The former was doomed as the great pillar of the misgoverned State, the latter of the Church. Yet even here "the terrible Reformers"[1] paused not—the meaner ministers,[2] and lawyers, and even judges, were next assailed; Sir Robert Berkely "was taken off the bench where he sate,"[3] and committed to prison.

Thus far, no doubt, the Commons proceeded in full conviction of purely patriotic and protective views for the kingdom and posterity.[4] If any hesitation for a moment interrupted their proceedings, it was instantly overborne by the passionate and irresistible eloquence of the Reformers.

Now it was that the negotiation to commit the affairs of the kingdom to a patriot ministry was set

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[1] Clarendon.

[2] Wren and Pierce, Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells, Judges Bramston, Davenport, &c., Secretary Windebank, and Lord Keeper Finch.

[3] Whitelocke, "Memorials," p. 39.

[4] "THE POWER OF FUTURE PRESERVATION IS NOW IN US," said Pym,—"'*et qui non servat patriam cum potest, idem tradit destruenti patriam.*' What though we cannot restore the damage of the Commonwealth, we may yet repair the breaches in the bounds of monarchy; *though it be with our loss and charge,* we shall so *leave our children's children fenced as with a wall of safety,* by the restoration of our laws to their ancient vigour and lustre."—*See Forster, Statesmen,* ii. 145.

on foot:[1] the proposed Ministers, however, were either unwilling or unable to save Strafford and the Church, and were therefore rejected. Well had it been for them, for their fame, and for their country, had they accepted the conditions, even had they declined the office!

Meanwhile the day of Strafford's trial is arrived. Westminster Hall is set out in all its solemn magnificence as a Court of Justice; the Commons of England, the Lords of Ireland, the Commissioners of Scotland, are the accusers; the House of Peers the judges;[2] the chief men (and women too) of the time are the audience; and, amongst them, the King for whom the prisoner is to die![3]

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[1] The Earl of Bedford was to be Lord Treasurer; Pym, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Hampden, Governor of the Prince of Wales; Hollis, Secretary of State; St. John, Solicitor-General.

[2] The bishops had, by the advice of Williams, withdrawn from attendance "*in agitatione causæ sanguinis*,"—cautiously waiving their right, under "the Constitutions of Clarendon," of attending in capital trials up to the stage of judgment.—*Forster.*

[3] "It was daily the most glorious assembly the isle could afford," says Baillie ("Letters"). In the magnificent Sutherland copy of Clarendon, in the Bodleian library at Oxford, there is a remarkable print of this "high solemnitie." Lord Arundel, as High Steward of England, sits on an enormous woolsack; the clerks *kneel* as they write at a sort of ottoman in the middle of the court; the peers sit with their wide-brimmed hats on their heads,* clothed in their robes of state; Lord Strafford wears a black velvet doublet, and a cloak with a hood attached to it; the Prince of Wales occupies one of the thrones, the King a sort of opera-box with a lattice (which he tore away with his own hands, Whitelock says).

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* Coronets were only conferred on them by Charles II.—*Burke, Introduction to Peerage.*

The Accused was equal to the great encounter: he was arraigned by the representatives of the three kingdoms; he was accused by the most eloquent and able men of that great intellectual period; all his actions, even the most private, for fourteen years of arduous office were investigated: yet he proudly and successfully confronted his assailants; refuted them with an eloquence more powerful than their own; and finally, before that highest tribunal, he proved that no law was ever made in England that could find him guilty!

Then came his prosecutor's crime: when Pym discovered that his prejudged victim was protected by the law,[1] he and his associates feloniously consulted how to evade that law. They succeeded; a bill of attainder accomplished their design; but so murderous was its nature that its very makers denounced it as a precedent,[2] and declared it null and void for ever after!

And so the matter ended; and Strafford met his

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[1] Mr. Forster, in his "Lives of Pym and Strafford," has ably argued against the latter, though irresistibly impressed by that noble bearing and eloquence which "moved the hearts of all his hearers (some few excepted) to remorse and pity." He admits that "Pym had reason to believe that the proofs he advanced did not amount to a substantial treason under the statute .... he wisely judged it was better to fix the guilt of Strafford on higher and grander considerations!!"—*Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, ii. 165.

[2] Thus it bears for ever its own brand of blood-guiltiness. Among the comparisons between old and more recent times on which we can congratulate ourselves, is that between the strikingly similar trials, and far different results, of Strafford and Hastings.

death as heroically as he had pleaded for his life. The city swarmed with people who crowded even within sight of the scaffold to see him die; the Lieutenant of the Tower feared they would tear him in pieces, and advised him to enter a carriage at the gate, "No, Mr. Lieutenant," said he, "I can face danger and the people too: I die to please them, and will die how they please." But there was nobleness of nature in the people also: they allowed him to pass in silence, many respectfully saluting him; and he moved to the scaffold, "his bearing resembling that of a general marching at the head of an army to breathe victory, rather than that of a condemned man."[1] And so he died in triumph.[2]

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[1] Rushworth, viii. 761. Clarend. Reb. i. 382, 397, 428, 450–4. Forster, i. 409; ii. 180, &c.

[2] On Wednesday the 12th of May, 1641. His last words to his brother on the scaffold are worthy of being deeply laid to heart by those who love ambition and fear death:—"Brother," said the dying statesman, "what see you in me to cause those tears? Does any fear betray in me guilt, or any innocent boldness want of religion? Think that you are now accompanying me once to my marriage-bed. *That block must be my pillow, and here I must rest* from all my labours. No thoughts of envy, no dreams of treason, no jealousies or cares for the King, the State, or myself, shall interrupt this easy sleep. . . . . Brother, we must part. . . . . One stroke will make my wife husbandless, my dear children fatherless, and my poor servants masterless, and separate me from my dear brother and all my friends: but may God be to you and them all in all." Whilst undressing for the executioner, he said, "I do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed!" And no doubt he spoke the truth. His letters breathe a strangely happy spirit of resignation even in his triumphant days; their tenderness to those he loves is exquisitely contrasted with the stern and fearless tone of com-

"Certainly," confesses the honest chairman of his accuser's committee, "never man acted such a part on such a theatre with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures, than this great man did. And he moved the hearts of all his auditors (some few excepted) to remorse and pity."[1]

But the highest tribute to Strafford's genius is the dread that he inspired among the Puritan lead-

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mand or indignation to others; and through many there is visible a yearning after higher, holier things than King or Puritan could offer. In one instance he speaks as if longing for retirement: "the height of my ambition would be to be brought home to enjoy myself and my friends, to leave a free estate to my little boy, and, which is more than all this, quietly and in secret to serve my Maker, to commune with him more frequently and more profitably, I trust, for my soul, than formerly."—*Strafford Papers*, i. 61. His last letter to his son, beginning with, "Dearest Will, these are the last lines you are ever to receive from one who tenderly loves you," ends thus, "be sure to avoid as much as you can to inquire after those that have been sharp in their judgment towards me, and I charge you never to suffer thought of revenge to enter your heart. . . . . May God Almighty of his infinite goodness bless you and your children's children, perfect you in every good work, and give you a right understanding in all things. Your most loving father, THOMAS WENTWORTH."—*Straff. Papers*, ii. 416.

[1] Whitelocke, "Memorials," p. 44. Laud, too, bears *his* testimony (he had given the Earl his blessing through the prison window on his way to the scaffold):—"Thus ended the wisest, the stoutest, and every way the ablest subject that this nation hath bred these many years."—*Diary*. Base intrigue cut off his last chance of safety: Holles had so gained the House, that a respite would have been allowed to Strafford to settle his affairs; the King was to go with a petition to both Houses, and a majority was calculated on to support the prayer. Meanwhile the Puritans inspired the ever-mischievous Queen with a belief that Strafford would accuse her, and she prevailed on the King to send, not to go to the

ers; such dread as drove them to pervert the laws and hound on the passions of the mob to accomplish his destruction. The base and unworthy plea of expediency, the justifying of the means by the importance of the end, was more worthy of mere Italian politicians than of English gentlemen.

But the chief guilt of Strafford's death does not lie with the Commons; his blood lies at the door of the unfaithful Lords,[1] of the wavering King. In the vain and coward hope of postponing a struggle that was inevitable, the craven Lords yielded to the vulgar thirst for blood, time-serving Bishops[2] coun-

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Houses. He wrote, and invalidated the appeal by the incredibly mean, surrendering postscript, "if he *must* die, it were a charity to reprieve him until Saturday."*—*Burnet*, i. 44; *King Charles's Works*, p. 138.

[1] The Lords might and would have saved him if they had dared. The following letter will shew that his cause was by no means desperate at first:—

"CAPT. DANIEL O'NEILLE† TO CAPT. W. LEGGE.

"London, 23rd Feb., 1641.

"The last week has produced nothing but distractions and jealousies between the Houses. The Commons ready to protest against the Lords for giving a week longer to my Lord Strafford to put in his answer, the Lords mad to see them so presumptive, question their authority. . . . . The Commons yesterday in conference reproached, in a manner, the Lords, for dealing so meekly with my Lord Lieutenant. . . . I attended the whole debate, and find *he will escape the House*, for all the privy Council, except Essex and honest Mandeville, were most vehemently for him."—*Earl of Dartmouth's Family Papers.*

[2] Juxon alone denounced the crime.

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* "Qui timidè rogat, docet negare," was afterwards scornfully quoted by Pym.

† Groom of the King's bedchamber.

selled the sacrifice, and the King—in unimaginable disregard of all duty, truth, honour, friendship, gratitude,—yielded up his heroic servant to the executioner.[1] "Degenerate King!"—as the eloquent and fearless Irving once exclaimed,—"degenerate King—degenerate Nobles! ye have been cowards before the people, ye have been brave only against the Lord your God."[2]

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[1] The King himself condemned this most unkingly act of his as much as his bitterest enemy could ever do. The victim of his weakness had received a promise from Pym as well as from his master: the former said to him, "You are going to leave us, but I will never leave *you* while your head is on your shoulders:" the latter had sworn, "While there is a king in England not a hair of your head shall be touched by Parliament." The demagogue kept his promise, the King broke his oath. Afterwards, also, when Strafford lay in prison, the King wrote to him this further assurance:—"I cannot satisfy myself in honour or in conscience without assuring you, on the word of a king, that you shall not suffer in life, honour, or fortune."

[2] I have been led on to speak of this trial at greater length than I anticipated; no writer who approaches the subject can escape from it with brevity. I have not mentioned even now that when the impeachment was changed into a bill of attainder, Strafford was not allowed to speak again on this new assault; that Selden, the most sterling of patriots, and most profound of lawyers, eloquently and indignantly denounced such injustice, but all in vain. The best and ablest account of Strafford is to be found in Mr. Forster's "Lives of Pym and Strafford." I am compelled to differ very widely from this writer on many points; but I believe that his "statesmen," if consolidated into a History of the Civil War, would be invaluable. M. Guizot's account of this trial is given with his usual perspicacity and point; but it is singularly reserved as regards expression of opinion on the merits of the case. The reader will easily supply a parallel between the fortunes of the great English minister and those of a recent French one. The former, when his arm was paralysed in the north by the King's want of nerve to carry out measures of which he had already reaped all the odium and danger, and only required courage to grasp at the success for which he had so dearly paid: the latter,

It was during this trial that the royalist army first appeared as an element of royal — as opposed to popular—power. The latter had grown to an alarming height in the opinion of the Court: not only did the Commons arrogate supreme authority, but the people began to consider themselves endowed with the same rights as their representatives; and the mob, that mock personification of the people, took it upon themselves to act as its executive. In this capacity the Houses of Parliament were constantly surrounded by its petitions, the Palace besieged by its insults. In such a state of things, the King naturally desired some protection, but he rashly admitted to this delicate office some worthless and intemperate officers from the Northern army, whom he "entertained about his palace at Whitehall." They were selected with that extraordinary perversity of tact, which intuitively perceived what office men were least qualified for, and immediately employed them therein. Lords Conway and Holland had been selected for the frontier war as if for their military incapacity; and now Goring,[1] Ashburnham,[2] and Lunsford[3] were selected

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when his labours, long directed towards the transmutation of the baser elements of France, were ruined "in the very moment of projection" by the timidity of his master, and those elements let loose to desolate the empire.

[1] Whose whole life was a tissue of treason against God and man.—*Clarendon.*

[2] "Who never was engaged on any cause that he did not help to ruin by his indiscretion."—*Sir P. Warwick.*

[3] A letter from Lord Dorset, written in the early part of 1631,

as body-guards, and at least countenanced as directors of a plot requiring the utmost discretion and fidelity.

What that plot was is still very debatable; whether to crush the Parliament and restore despotism, or simply to rescue Strafford from death and the King from the daily insults of the mob. It signifies little what was the *assigned* object,[1] but it is certain that Charles was not at this time a safe person to entrust with unlimited military power. The chief conspirators were the men already named, with Percy, the Earl of Northumberland's brother; Henry Jermyn, the Queen's chief favourite;

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is published in Ellis's Collection, in which Thomas Lunsford is spoken of as "a young outlaw, who neither fears God nor man, and who, having given himself over unto all lewdness and dissoluteness only studies to affront justice," and again, as "degenerate from all genteel birth or education, and takes a glory to be esteemed rather a swaggering ruffian than the issue of that ancient and honest family" (his father having been high-sheriff for the county of Sussex). Lunsford's petitions to the King, preserved among Sir William Burrell's Collection, allude to some of these offences, which consisted of killing Sir Thomas Pelham's deer, and assaulting himself and his keeper: for this the Star Chamber visited him with heavy fines, and in default of payment imprisoned him eighteen months in the Fleet: the remainder of his sentence was remitted by the King, April 1639, in consideration of his employment in the army. This act of leniency seems to have influenced his choice of a party rather than the remembrance of former severity from his royal master.

[1] Lord Clarendon says, "there never was the least intention of working farther upon the affections of the army than to preserve them from being corrupted .... and all that the King consented to was, that as petitions were being framed by seditious persons to the Parliament, so the officers and soldiers might sign this petition."—*Hist. Rebel.*, i. 429.

Wilmot, father of the Rochester of later days; Sir Hugh Pollard, M.P.; Daniel O'Neille, an Irish Roman Catholic, whose letter I have just quoted; Suckling and Davenant, the poets.[1] Lord Holland[2] was fitly selected as their chief, to Goring's great

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[1] Rushw. v. 256. Warwick's "Memoirs," p. 178. Lord Nugent's "Hampden," ii. 70. "Fairfax Corr.," ii. 121. Clar. "Rebel.," i. 428.

[2] Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, younger brother of Robert, second Earl of Warwick, was created Baron Kensington in 1622, and Earl of Holland in 1624. He was captain of the King's Guard, and much in favour with James I., who made him a Knight of the Bath; and with Charles I., who made him a Knight of the Garter. Granger speaks of him as "a distinguished favourite with Henrietta Maria, upon whose heart his handsome person, gallant behaviour, and courtly address, are thought to have made an early impression when he was sent ambassador to France, to negotiate the treaty of marriage for the King of England." "The Earl of Holland," says Clarendon, "was a younger son of a noble house; but the reputation of his family gave him no great advantage in the world. After some time spent in France, he betook himself to the war in Holland, where, after he had made two or three campaigns, according to the custom of the English volunteers, he came in the leisure of the winter to visit England, about the time of the infancy of the Duke of Buckingham's favours, to whom he grew in a short time very acceptable. He was a very handsome man, of a lovely and winning presence, and gentle conversation, by which he had got so easy an admission to the Court and grace of King James, that he gave over the life of a soldier. He took all the ways he could to endear himself to the Duke, and wisely declined receiving any grace or favour but as his donation; above all, avoided the suspicion that the King had any kindness for him upon any account but of the Duke, whose creature he desired to be esteemed, though the Earl of Carlisle's friend. And he prospered so well in that pretence, that the King scarcely made more haste to advance the Duke, than the Duke did to promote the other. Under this protection he received every day new obligations from the King and great bounties; and continued to flourish above any man in the Court while the weather was fair; but the storm did no sooner arise than he declined fast in the favour he was said to be master of."—*Clar. Rebel.; Lodge's Portraits.*

disgust, and to the ruin of the plot. Their celebrated petition was to the following effect:—

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, now assembled in the High Court of Parliament,

"The humble petition of the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, humbly sheweth, &c." They proceed to state that their wants [of pay and all necessaries] have become very grievous, yet that they have been very exemplary in conduct; "a temper not usual in armies, especially in one destitute of pay and martial discipline, and many of its principal officers" [who were hanging about the Court, the only place they were fit for]. They proceed to speak commendably of the Parliament's doings, of the King's co-operation therewith, and "condescending" to the Scots. They praise the Triennial Bill, and pray that all men may "enjoy in their own homes" the peace and quietness that is so prized by them, the officers and soldiers. *But* they learn "with grief and anguish that there are certain persons, stirring and pragmatical, who, instead of rendering glory to God, thanks to his Majesty, and acknowledgment to the Parliament, remain as unsatisfied and mutinous as ever." That these pragmatical persons are attempting the diminution of "his Majesty's just regalities, which must be ever dear to all honest men as their own freedoms," subjecting the kingdom to their private

fancies, and subverting the whole government. "But that which most urges the trouble and disquiet of [their] loyal hearts is that they hear these pragmatical persons are backed in their violence by the multitude and tumult" in a manner dangerous to his Majesty and the free counsels of Parliament. Their humble petition therefore is that "the ringleaders of such tumults may be punished and his Majesty and the Parliament secured from such insolences hereafter." For the suppressing of all disorders, in fine, they offer themselves to "wait upon his Majesty," hoping they are as well able to defend, as others to assail "the established laws of the kingdom."

This was all very natural and well expressed; the King said he had no objection to any number of officers assenting to so very reasonable a document. On being pressed to do so, he even subscribed his own initials to the Petition, one of the few signatures[1] it ever received. Colonel Goring[2] (the most

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[1] Clar. Reb., i. 434. It is, however, probably the only instance on record of the signature of the person petitioned heading the list of his petitioners!

[2] George, Lord Goring, was descended from a junior branch of the family of that name, which still maintains its importance in the county of Sussex. Of the date and place of his birth no intelligence remains. His wife, a daughter of Lord Corke's, had previously been offered in marriage to Lord Strafford, who in 1633 writes,—"Young Goring is gone to travel, having run himself out of 8,000*l.* which he proposes to redeem by his frugality abroad;" and later in this year again alludes to him,—"Young Mr. Goring hath compounded with my Lord Vere for his colonel's place in the Low Countries. Twenty-two companies he hath under his command, and his troop of horse." At the head of this force he distinguished himself by the most determined bravery,

infamous person that ever disgraced, while permitted to retain, the title of gentleman) nursed, matured, and betrayed this plot for placing London in a state of siege.

It became known to Pym while Strafford's fate was yet in suspense, and that most politic statesman made the most of it. He held its revelations suspended over the head of the King for months, economising its terrors, and turning every alarm it afforded to good account. And doubtless it might have been a formidable conspiracy had there been either head or heart in its organization. But the King was at the very "dead lift" of his statesmanship: the able servants of his extra-parliamentary career were slain, exiled, or imprisoned; his future constitutional advisers, Hyde, Falkland, Culpepper, were still neutral or opposed to him. He had no counsellor but his Queen.

One branch of the Army Plot alone was likely to succeed. Sir William Balfour, Lieutenant of the Tower, received orders from the King to receive Captain Billingsby and one hundred soldiers as an additional protection to the Tower. At the same time Strafford offered the Lieutenant 20,000*l.*, and an indemnity from the King, if he would connive at the introduction of this "guard," and its conse-

and received a wound at the famous siege of Breda, 1637. In 1641 we find him in the office of governor of Portsmouth, as above. Utterly debauched, cruel, and unprincipled, he was the worst of the bad men who brought reproach on the name of Cavalier.

quences. But Sir William knew the power of Parliament, and he also knew that his prisoner had been overheard by some women, as he was arranging his escape. "His fidelity proved inviolable," Strafford was killed, and soon afterwards the Lieutenant officially "resigned" his post to the King, and received 3000*l.* for doing so.

Ultimately the Army Plot proved useful to almost every one but the unhappy monarch whom it had professed to serve. The army itself was soothed and complimented with a polite letter from Speaker Lenthall, and considerable arrears of pay. The Scotch army (as an additional precaution) was voted 300,000*l.*; Goring received the thanks of Parliament. Some of the other conspirators fled or were imprisoned, but the whole matter was soon forgotten except by history.

This "Northern army" consisted of the remains of the armament originally destined to overawe Scotland: it constituted at the same time the only strength on which the King could rely for his own emergencies, and on which the Parliament calculated for keeping in check the Scotch army that remained in occupation of the Northern counties. For this last reason, as well as from the difficulty of finding money to disband them, the Parliament had allowed this force to continue in existence. All the sums hitherto raised for its subsistence had been perverted to our dangerous allies the Scotch.[1] This

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, i. 425.

fact no doubt contributed to increase the English army's anxiety to approach London and assist the King and Parliament against the "pragmatical" paymasters of the Scots.

Meanwhile this army of the King's lay billeted and quartered as best they might, about Boroughbridge and Ripon.[1] It was thoroughly demoralized by want or pay, and (as they confess in their petition) by want of discipline also; still more by the disgraces it had undergone, and the want of opportunity to redeem its character. Its officers were generally Soldiers of Fortune,[2] for the most part the

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[1] Fairfax Correspondence, ii.

[2] This was in itself far from being a term of reproach. They frequently subscribed themselves as such, and were proud of the distinction: it seems to have conferred *carte blanche* to the soldier to follow what side he pleased without reproach. Evelyn in his Diary (ii. 370), says that he "must confess the Earl of Sandwich served the tyrant Cromwell when a young man, but 'twas without malice, as *a soldier of fortune.*" The following character of this singular class is extracted from M. Guizot's "Life of Monk," ably edited by Mr. Stewart Wortley:—"Germany and the Low Countries were at this period (before the Civil Wars) the resort of those young Englishmen whose taste or necessities drove them to the profession of arms. Thus was formed a race of men inured to danger, careful of their interest, at all times obedient to those habits of calculation which made a traffic of their lives; blending brilliant action with low sentiment, indifferent to right, yet attached to certain duties, and trained by their condition to dispense with many virtues, though at the same time exempt from many vices. Destitute of principle, they were not wanting in a certain sense of honour; and when fate launched them among the vicissitudes of party, they were not easily found to break the engagement which they had at first contracted. They were bound only slightly to their fatherland; but animated with a lively sentiment of fellowship for the men whose dangers they had shared, and they thus formed doubtful citizens, but admirable comrades. Indifferent to the sufferings of a population,

refuse of that class. "Felt-Marshal" Lesley had long since secured the best of them for his own countrymen, by whom they were cherished and yet

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they knew how to share those of the soldiers, and were so orderly even in their violence that they did not aggravate it by their violence. They were rough and severe, but not ferocious; even their avarice submitted to the laws of discipline."

Chief among these soldiers of fortune was George Monk. He was descended from an old Devonshire family, and had royal blood in his veins from the Plantagenets. He was born in December, 1608, and at the age of seventeen he served as volunteer in Lord Wimbledon's expedition against Spain: the following year he was engaged in the equally unfortunate affair at the Isle of Rhé. Subsequently he served in the Low Countries under Lord Oxford and George Goring. He returned to England in time for the campaigns against Scotland, wherein he held a command in the royal service. Lord Leicester appointed him colonel of his own regiment when he was lord-lieutenant of Ireland. After assisting to suppress rebellion in that country, he was ordered to England to join the King with the brigade of the Irish army that was defeated at Nantwich under Lord Byron. In the latter part of these Memoirs I shall have frequent occasion to refer to his future career. I shall here only subjoin Lord Orford's carelessly penned, but shrewd observations on this memorable man, "who raised himself by his personal merit within reach of a crown, which he had the prudence or the virtue to wave; whose being able to place it on the head of the heir is imputed to astonishing art or secrecy, when in reality he only furnished a hand to the heart of a nation; and who, after the greatest services that a subject could perform, either wanted the sense, or had the sense, to distinguish himself no farther (for, perhaps, he was singularly fortunate in always embracing the moment of propriety); this man was an author, a light in which he is by no means known. After his death was published a treatise which he composed while a prisoner in the Tower; it is called 'Observations upon Military and Political Affairs;' there remain, besides, some of his speeches and letters."—"The remarks," adds this author, "are short, sensible, and pointed, though his friend Clarendon denies to him the gift of eloquence or volubility." I doubt whether the witty biographer ever read these "Observations;" I have endeavoured to make use of them; but they are singularly barren of interest or novelty, considering the place and occupation of their author.

restrained, while those of the royalist party were neglected and ungoverned. The latter were now under the command of Sir Jacob Astley and Sir John Conyers, who were both brave and honest men, but they could not prevent the demoralization of forces without pay, employment, or encouragement. The Plot was conducted, apparently, without their knowledge or connivance, though, doubtless, if commanded to make a bonfire of Westminster and all that it contained, as old soldiers they would implicitly have obeyed their orders. Nothing was done, however; the army starved and grumbled, and lay quiet in its quarters until September, when it was disbanded on the withdrawal of the Scotch Covenanters with their prize-money.

For the purpose of disbanding them, Lord Holland[1] was made general by the infatuated King. Lord Essex, who had hitherto served the royal cause with talent and fidelity, was thus sacrificed to the most worthless of the Queen's favourites. The King's bitterest enemies could not have made a better appointment for their purposes: Holland was already a traitor to the King,[2] and not only betrayed all his counsels to the Parliament, but alienated the minds of the soldiery from the royal cause. The King's difficulty in raising troops a few months

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[1] "Who," says Bishop Warburton, "lived a knave, and died a fool."

[2] Having been refused by the King "the making of a baron" (worth to him, 10,000*l.*)—*Clar. Reb.*, i. 2.

later, when his very existence was at stake, is thus chiefly to be accounted for. In the army now ungraciously dismissed were the greater number of those who had been similarly treated after the "Pacification of Berwick," yet they had rallied again at the King's summons. After this dismissal, few ever found their way back to the royal standard; they were either absorbed into the Parliamentary levies or abandoned military service altogether. When the royal standard was set up at Nottingham only eight hundred troopers were collected, and these formed the whole force of cavalry, over which Prince Rupert was appointed as General of the Royal Horse.

Simultaneously with the dismissal of the English army, that of Ireland was also disbanded, and driven by a fatal edict of the Commons to associate themselves with the disturbing elements of that country. It was ordered that none of these men should be allowed to leave Ireland, or enter into the foreign service that eagerly sought their aid: thus, eight thousand well disciplined men were let loose upon the country to find subsistence where they could —even among the rebels.[1]

Meanwhile, the King was on his way to Scotland, leaving London, but not its cares or even its Parliament, behind him.[2] The Commons were

[1] Clar. Rebel., i. 493.

[2] The King left London for Edinburgh on the 9th of August, 1641, and returned on the 25th of November following. The fol-

determined not to lose sight of him, and three of their most pertinacious members tracked his steps,

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lowing letter contains allusions to some matters of interest. Its only date is 1641, and the signature seems to have been destroyed: the writer gives a graphic picture of the feuds the King found prevailing among his covenanting subjects:—

"FOR MY FRIEND CAPTAIN LEGG* AT MR. JONSON'S HOUSE IN YORK.

"DEAR WILLIAM,—Palmer coming from Edinburgh, found this enclosed paper in the hands of Lieutenant Roughton, or Wroughton, lieutenant to the Lord Wentworths at Berwick; he did conceive it might concern you, which if it do, you may make use of it; if not, he desires you return it back to me. When *he* came away, the King did hold his resolution to come away upon Monday next, if no business did interfere; if it prove so, I conceive Porter will be here to-morrow or Monday. There is no small contention at Edinburgh about the chief places of the kingdom; his Majesty would have the Lord Aumount to be treasurer, which the Parliament absolutely did refuse; Aumount saith it belongs to the King's prerogative to choose his own officers, and he will make it good with his life. Montrose is still detained in prison, and is conceived will be until these great places be

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* This gentleman is remarkable in these Memoirs, as having been the warm and faithful friend of Prince Rupert, and a gallant Cavalier. He was godson to Henry, Earl of Danby, who sent him to serve as a volunteer under Gustavus Adolphus in 1630. Afterwards he served in the Low Countries under Maurice, Prince of Orange. On his return to England he was made "keeper of the King's wardrobe during life," and soon afterwards became groom of the bedchamber. In the rank of colonel he served the royal cause with zeal and talent throughout the Civil Wars, and after the destruction of the King he devoted himself to the service of his son with the same energy and gallantry. At the battle of Worcester he was wounded, made prisoner, and would have been executed, but that his wife contrived his escape from Coventry gaol in her clothes. This brave lady was daughter of Sir W. Washington, and niece of the Duke of Buckingham. After the Restoration he was received into high favour at Court, yet he bore the name of "Honest Will Legge" to his dying day. He was succeeded, in 1672, by his son George, who was raised to the peerage, inherited lineally by the present Earl of Dartmouth.

controlling all his public acts, and spying out every secret purpose. They had also to keep their vigilant eyes on the Scots themselves, who were beginning to feel some qualms of returning loyalty, now that their money and their Kirk were well secured. In fact, these parliamentary deputies returned the visit of the Scotch commissioners, and with much the same object.[1]

Even in London, the fiery zeal against the King was beginning to languish in his absence, and ultimately suffered some reaction. When Charles returned to England, he was greeted by demonstrations of loyalty to which he had been long a [illegible]—a dangerous and delusive pleasure. At York, especially, he was enthusiastically received,

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bestowed. When these are past, it is supposed he will be set at liberty; but, being held as a delinquent, he is incapable of any place. The Earl of Roxburgh doth hold his place still, and will do so long as his Majesty pleaseth, and will make it good with his life. There hath been some ruffle betwixt his son, the Lord Carr, and the marquess: Carr sent the marquess word he was a juggler and a traitor. The Hamiltons and the Carrs form separate parties, and it was conceived that there would be a deadly feud amongst them; but his Majesty reconciled the business betwixt them, and Carr did acknowledge he spake it inconsiderately, and could not prove it. The marquess had it spoken of after in open Parliament, and there was cleared by vote of the whole House, *nullo contradicente*, that he was free from these aspersions, so it may be supposed that these words were no way prejudicial to him. Thus much for foreign matters....."—*From the Earl of Dartmouth's Family Papers.*

[1] The Parliamentary deputies were Lord Howard of Escric, to represent the Peers; Fiennes (who governed the Peer); Hampden, and Sir William Armyn. Vainly, thenceforth, even to the scaffold, the King attempted to flee, even for an hour, from the Nemesis he had roused.

and the mayor, in a set speech, assured his Majesty that "our hearts are so gladdened, our wives conceive with joy, our wintry woods assume spring leaves to welcome home so indulgent a soveraigne." At Stamford he was met by similar rejoicings, and apparently by a similar mayor; for this dignitary, after alluding in his address to the Irish Rebellion as the "work of Papishes," assures his Majesty, nevertheless, that "Athough Rome's hens should daily hatch of its preposterous eggs crocodiliferous chickens, yet under our Royal Soveraigne we should not fear."[1] Even in London the popular feeling had undergone reaction, and in the absence of exciting causes, had gravitated towards the old standard of their fathers. A Lord Mayor of strong Royalist principles had been elected,[2] and his great, though ephemeral power stimulated most zealous demonstrations of returning loyalty. The City displayed all its quaint and gorgeous pomp to receive its King, escorting him in triumph through its lately hostile bosom.

This was the last pageant made for Charles I.; and it wanted nothing that a "contented people could furnish to a contented King." Even the Queen and her courtiers shared in his reflected

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[1] Evelyn, p. 112, n.

[2] Richard (afterwards Sir Richard) Gourney, "a man of wisdom and courage, attended on his Majesty at his entrance into the City, with all the lustre and countenance it could shew, and as great professions of duty as it could make or the King expect." —*Clar. Reb.* ii. 62.

popularity, and accompanied him in triumph to Guildhall, where they were magnificently entertained.[1] Afterwards they were escorted with all civic pomp to Whitehall Palace along the Strand.[2]

All these things gave not a little confidence to the Court and some alarm to the Parliament,[3] which had reassembled, after a brief recess, on the 20th of October, in a fiercer and sterner spirit than ever: they were now prepared to adopt all the plans of the committee which they had left sitting. Then was proposed that memorable remonstrance,[4] which

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[1] 25 Nov.

[2] London at that period lay within (or beyond) Temple Bar, [illegible] the City still claims her ancient privileges: (great these are now, as then, but not so conspicuous, all England sharing in them too.) The Strand then existed as a one-sided street, open (except for some palaces and gardens) to the water on the south, and commanding "a fine view of the Hampstead and Highgate hills towards the north." Drury Lane was then a quiet place, where there were more primroses than pockets to be picked; and Covent Garden was open to the country, though colonnaded on the north. In the admirably written "Petition for Peace of the London Apprentices" in 1642, mention is made of their meeting being held under the piazza in Covent Garden.

[3] Whose self-chosen guards the King removed on his arrival from Scotland. These consisted of the train-bands of Westminster, which Essex (on the motion of Pym) had ordered to do duty for the Parliament "by night and by day." This measure was taken on the noise of the "Incident"* reaching London, and the information received from Edinburgh that the King had plotted with Montrose to crush the Covenant, and to convict the Parliamentary leaders of a treasonable correspondence with the Scots.—*Rushw.* iv. 392.

[4] The comprehensive accusation ran thus:—1. The dissolution

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* The "Incident," as it was called, was the sudden departure of Argyle and Hamilton from Edinburgh, on the plea that the King had intended to arrest them as a first step towards crushing the Covenant.

arraigned the King of every ill-judged and criminal act of his whole reign. This was in effect the Parliamentary declaration of war; it was addressed not to the King so much as to the people; it evidenced a spirit of hostility that nothing could mitigate, a sense of wrong that no reparation could mollify, and a determination that no after-thought could ever shake. But even the Commons were not yet prepared to adopt this measure, and its proposers for the present fell back upon less formidable

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of his first Parliament at Oxford. 2. The dissolution of his second Parliament, being in the second year of his reign. 3. The dissolution of his Parliament in the fourth year of his reign. 4. The fruitless expedition against Calais. 5. The peace made with Spain, whereby the Palatine's cause was deserted, and left to changeable and hopeless treaties. 6. The sending of Commissioners to raise money by way of loan. 7. Raising of ship-money. 8. Enlargement of forests, contrary to Magna Charta. 9. The design of engrossing all the gunpowder into one hand, and keeping it in the Tower of London. 10. A design to bring in the use of brass money. 11. The fines, imprisonments, stigmatizings, mutilations, whippings, pillories, gags, confinements, and banishments by sentence in the Court of Star Chamber. 12. The displacing of judges. 13. Illegal acts of the Council Table. 14. The arbitrary and illegal power of the Earl Marshal's Court. 15. The abuses in Chancery, Exchequer Chamber, and Court of Wards. 16. The selling of titles of honour, of judges' and serjeants' places, and other offices. 17. The insolence of bishops and other clerks, in suspensions, excommunications, deprivations, and degradations of divers painful and learned and pious ministers. 18. The excess of severity of the High Commission Court. 19. The preaching before the King against the property of the subject, and for the prerogative of the King above the law. 20. The dissolution of the Parliament, May 5th, 1640; the imprisoning some members of both Houses; a forced loan of money attempted in London; the continuance of the Convocation when the Parliament was ended, and the favour shewed to Papists.

Thus condensed in *Behemoth*, a work worthy of Machiavelli, by *Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury*, p. 536.

propositions, knowing well that men's minds would soon become sufficiently heated to digest the former or any other proposition they could make. The Irish Rebellion, or rather massacre, now broke out,[1] and

[1] In Oct. 1641. The attributing to Charles a connivance with the Irish rebellion is one of the most ungenerous falsehoods in the long list of Puritan calumnies against him. Nothing could be so fatally inopportune for his cause; nothing more clear than that it resulted from the measures of the opposite party. The Irish Parliament, hastily but awkwardly following the example of those of England and Scotland, virtually revolted from the King. In the excess of its liberality, it declared proclamations and acts of state to be of no authority; it abolished martial law, denied the jurisdiction of the Privy Council, and thus paralyzed the executive. The Irish, with that keen intelligence which distinguishes them, at once saw their advantage. Roger More, O'Neal, and Macguire, called on their countrymen to rise while they could do so *without rebellion* against the King and Parliament of England. If ever they had a chance of returning to their own ideal of liberty, it was now. The Earl of Leicester, the Lord Deputy, was absent; the Chief Justices, Parsons and Borlase, were men of very doubtful capacity; there were not English troops enough to garrison Dublin; winter was approaching; the plot undiscovered. But practice does not make perfect in Ireland: experienced as the Irish are in insurrection, gallant as they are in action and intelligent in council, they are the worst conspirators in Europe. The cause was betrayed by O'Connolly, Dublin secured, Maguire and Macmahon (of whom more hereafter) arrested, and the proposed fight for freedom turned into a most foul and atrocious massacre. Men, women, and children were put to death under circumstances of horrible cruelty. Such horror was inspired by the sanguinary and barbarous men *and women* who disgraced their country and their faith, that the Puritans justified themselves in all *their* cruelties by retaliation. (Even in the comparatively chivalrous rules of the civil war, quarter was denied to "Irish Papists;" and at Naseby three hundred *women* were put to the sword under the name of Irish.) In this massacre from forty thousand to two hundred thousand people perished,—a vague calculation. Lord Clarendon says forty thousand; May (Parl. Hist. i. 326) says two hundred thousand in one month; Milton (Iconoclastes) one hundred and fifty-four thousand in Ulster alone; Sir John Temple (Hist. Irish Rebel.) says three hundred thousand from Oct. 1641 to Sept. 1643, besides

increased the amount of Parliamentary accusations against the King, and "papacy, and prelacy." The spiritual peers were the most defenceless adversaries the popular leader could encounter, compared with the resolute front that they shewed to innovations. "And now," says the blunt yet courtly Sir Philip Warwick, "now the bishops' seat in Parliament must be taken away, though ancienter than Parliament themselves, for no Saxon gemotes ever met without them. And records shew that some of them have through all ages been as good instruments for the subject's liberty, and procuring even Magna Charta, as any of the Commons or secular Lords." Ultimately they were swept away, with all the other bulwarks of the old constitution; the same royal hand, at the same instigation that had consigned Strafford to the block, now subscribed to the humiliation of those who had forsaken their high trust at his trial.[1] This inroad on the constitution, however, was not effected for some time after, and then only by great exertion and repeated efforts of the democrats.[2]

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those who fell in fight; *i. e.* 35,000 beyond the number of Protestants then in Ireland, according to Sir W. Petty's calculation. See English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds by *Aubrey de Vere.*

[1] Again we find the Queen's dishonouring and evil influences exerted here: Lord Clarendon confesses that men were more indifferent about the bishops, because they had shrunk from the unpopularity and danger of sitting on Lord Strafford's trial.—*Clar. Reb.* ii. 228.

[2] Warwick's Memoirs. Mr. Godwin calls him "a grave authority:" he is a very important one for the Cavaliers.

The first time the bishops were assailed, many petitions from the country besought the Parliament to spare that once venerated order: Cheshire, Somersetshire, eleven other English, and four Welsh counties petitioned against Sir Edward Deering's bill. Many who wished well to episcopacy, however, objected to prelacy, as they called it; and even the candid and fearless Falkland hoped to render ultimate service to the Church by disarming those who had done so much disservice to her cause.[1]

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[1] I give an extract from Lord Falkland's speech, as embodying the opinions of many conscientious men of his time; opinions which Falkland afterwards retracted, on conviction of his mistake in attempting to reform functions on account of functionaries:—

"Master Speaker, we shall find them to have tithed mint and anise, and to have left undone the weightier matters of the law; to have been less eager against those who *damn* our Church, than against those who, upon weak conscience and perhaps as weak reason (the dislike of some commanded garment or some uncommanded posture), only *abstained* from our Church. The conforming to ceremonies hath more been insisted on than the conforming to Christianity. The most frequent subjects of their preaching being the *jus divinum* of Bishops and tithes, the sacredness of tithes, the building of the prerogative, the introduction of such doctrines as (admitting them true) the truth would not recompense the scandal. And some have evidently laboured to bring in an English, though not a Roman Popery: nay, common fame is more than ordinarily false if none of them have found a way to reconcile the opinions of Rome with the preferment of England, being yet so cordially Papist that it is all £1500 a-year can do to prevent them from confessing it. . . . They appeared ever forward for monopolies and ship-money, and if any were backward to comply, they blasted both them and their preferment with the utmost expression of their hatred—the title of Puritan. . . . They had done us far more mischief, if, by the grace of God, their share had not been as small in the subtlety of serpents as in the innocency of doves.—*Lord Falkland's Speech concerning Episcopacy, London*, 1641.

The chief papistical innovations charged against these bishops

Meanwhile, the rebellion in Ireland was gathering strength; the lord-lieutenant (Leicester) would not go without troops; the levies went on but slowly; volunteers for such a service were not to be found; and the Commons passed a bill enabling themselves, but not *the King*, to raise forces by conscription. Soon afterwards, a bill to place the power of raising the militia in the hands of unnamed commissioners was introduced by the King's own Solicitor-General, St. John, read the first time, and left until wanted. Every day the power of the Commons became "more firmly conglutinated into one bodie,"[1] more grasping and unconscionable. Nor was the King behindhand in the race towards the final breach. He had returned, at the request of the Lord-mayor and aldermen, to Whitehall, which was soon assailed by the same tumultuous assemblages of people that infested the Houses of Parliament, to encourage the Commons and intimidate the Lords: as a defence against these insults, the King encouraged the attendance of many officers of

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were, the setting up of pictures, images, crucifixes, and wax candles in the churches, "insomuch that many Papists and strangers coming there knew no better but they had been Popish churches." No one might approach the "altar without bowing three times, and falling on his knees;" they caused the holidays to be more observed than the Sabbath; they prayed over the dead;" and "it was preached at Paul's Cross that the Pope is not that Antichrist." With all these the Puritans objected also to the Bishops wearing gowns and "tippets," to the sign of the cross in baptism, the administering of the Sacrament kneeling at the communion-table, and bowing at the name of Jesus.—*Somers' Tracts.*

[1] Vicar's "*Jehovah Jireh.*"

the disbanded army, who were still kept in suspense for their pay: these men rejoiced to signalize their loyal zeal by retaliating on the mob, and they were not discountenanced even when several of the latter were severely wounded. There was at this time, one Samuel Barnardiston, a noted leader of the rabble, who appeared conspicuous in a tumult, near Whitehall, for his tall stature, and hair most closely clipped.[1] The Queen was attracted to the window by the noise, and observing the democrat, she exclaimed, "What a handsome young ROUNDHEAD!"[2]

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[1] This latter peculiarity had already become a party distinction, and was carried, among the vulgar, to a fanatical excess. At the same time, the Royalists adopted the opposite extreme, as conferring grace and dignity, in contrast to the puritanical primness of their opponents. Among the higher classes of both sides, however, there were many exceptions. Strafford wore his hair as short as if he lived in our days; Pym and Colonel Hutchinson wore locks of courtly length.—*Mrs. Hutchinson's Mems.* 120. In Ward's very curious diary, 1668, I find this conceit:—"Fair hair, the poets say, is the prison of Cupid; and that is the cause, I suppose, the ladies make love brooches and lockets for their lovers, and why men curl and powder their hair, and prune their pickatevants" [the Vandyke peaked beard].

[2] The above is told by Miss Strickland, on the authority of Madame de Motteville. I subjoin another account from a singular little book called "The 29th of May."—"Even before the Parliament had opposed the King in the field, so formidable were the apprentices of London, that they petitioned the King against the bishops, and, assembling in a riotous manner, proceeded to Westminster, crying, 'No bishops — no bishops.' This so irritated the Bishop of Lincoln, who was then passing to the House, that he seized one of the most active of the mob. The others, however, on rescuing their comrade, laid not violent hands on him, but followed still crying, 'No bishops—no popish lords!' when Captain Hyde, with some few friends, roused to indignation on witnessing this insult upon a dignitary of the Church, with more resolution than prudence drew his sword, threatening to cut the throats of the '*roundheaded dogs.*' On saying which he

The epithet was caught up by her attendants, and became immortal in our history. About the same time the democrats retorted on their opponents the name of CAVALIERS; as if it were un-English to oppose the people for a French Queen's cause, and the word entered into our language for ever.[1]

The first men who assumed that title, associated it with reproach. The Cavaliers, who were bred on the Continent, now introduced too much of the habits of the "free companions" into their own country:[2] they had no public, and little national spirit: their mode of life exhibited the licence and morality of a barrack-yard, without its discipline and self-control. Swaggering, imperious, and blindly rash, they were at the same time the most offensive

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was seized by the apprentices, and carried before the House of Commons, who not only immediately committed the captain to prison, but declared him incapable of serving his Majesty after."

[1] The expression is only twice, I believe, used by the King, *viz.* once in his reply to the Parliament remonstrance concerning Sir Thomas Fairfax's petition: he there says, "for the courage and behaviour of the Cavaliers (a word by what mistake soever, it seems in much disfavour here) there hath not been the least complaint." —*Clar. Reb.* ii. 585, and in his speech to the troops at Edgehill.

[2] The town was full of soldiers, and of young gentlemen who intended to be soldiers, or as like them as they could: great licence used of all kinds, in cloaths, in diet, in gaming, and all kind of expenses equally carried on by men who had fortunes of their own to support it; and by others, who, having nothing of their own, cared not what they spent whilst they could find credit. So that there was scarce an age in which, in so short a time, so many young gentlemen, who had not experience or some tutelar angel to protect them, were insensibly and suddenly overwhelmed in that sea of wine and women, and quarrels, and gaming, which almost overspread the whole kingdom, and the nobility and gentry thereof."—*Clarendon's Life*, p. 68.

and dangerous instruments that the King could have employed. The very worst, perhaps, of these guards was Lunsford, and he was appointed Lieutenant of the Tower as soon as Sir William Balfour was bought off. Such a measure not only created, but justified suspicion on the part of the Parliament, and once more the King was compelled to retract his appointment.

Such men as Lunsford and his fellows were mere gladiators: brutal hirelings, as free from scruples as from fear, they would have better suited, and more willingly served, the cause of an Italian tyrant than of an English King. But there was another and a very different class of men who bore the same name, and who now began to side with the Crown in the hour of its danger, as they had once opposed it in its triumph and encroachments. There is a witness in the breast of every Englishman for the value and nobleness of the true old English Cavalier: his genial and generous nature; his desperate daring; his proud aspirations and his devoted loyalty, derived from those who once owed all they were possessed of to the Crown. Such was Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland, as a Cavalier; but he was much more as a patriot and a philosopher.[1] He had opposed

[1] I cannot omit Lord Clarendon's highly finished portrait of his most valued friend. He seems to have turned with delight from the ordinarily painful (as it was to him) experience of human character, to dwell upon this beautiful exception :—"Lord Falkland was born about 1610. Before he came to be twenty years of age, he was master of a noble fortune, which descended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without passing through his father or mother, who were both then alive. In this time, his house

the King, and even voted against the Bishops in Parliament; but it was with a sense of self-sacrifice that he did so, preferring to the one, nothing but

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being within little more than ten miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of the university, who found such an immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgment in him, 'so infinite a fancy bound in by a most logical ratiocination,' such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in anything, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing; that they frequently resorted and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air. * * He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men, and that made him too much a contemner of those acts which must be indulged in the transactions of human affairs. In the last short Parliament he was a burgess in the House of Commons, and from the debates, which were there managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to Parliaments, that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the kingdom, or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. * * The great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active, especially of Mr. Hampden, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom; and though he differed from them commonly in conclusions, he believed long their purposes were honest. When he grew better informed what was law, and discerned in them a desire to control that law by a vote of one or both Houses, no man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse party more trouble by reason and argumentation, insomuch as he was by degrees looked upon as an advocate for the Court, to which he contributed so little, that he declined those addresses and even those invitations which he was obliged almost by civility to entertain; he was so jealous of the least imagination that he did incline to preferment, that he affected even a moroseness to the Court and the courtiers, and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the King's or Queen's favour towards him, but the deserving it. * * For this reason, when he heard it first whispered that the King had a purpose to make him a Privy Councillor—for which at the beginning there was no other ground but his being known sufficient—he resolved to decline it, and at last suffered himself only to be overruled by the advice and per-

his country; to the other, nothing but his Church. His high courage enabled him to despise the epithet of apostate, when his chivalrous feeling, if not his conviction, called him to the dangerous councils of the King. And surely never did any man make a more loyal or disinterested sacrifice: he flung into the gulf that yawned between the King and People all that was most dear to him,—his peace of mind, his richly cultivated leisure, and his independence. The Puritans were doubtless patriotic, some for their own, and some for their country's sake; but their great cause was forwarded by many mean devices, and they worked under the spur of ambition and the goading of popular applause. Falkland had only a sense of duty for his inspiration, and even that was chequered with most painful doubts. His character, however, stands clear even from calumny; without one stain on his faith to his country, or loyalty to his King, he lived and died a true gentleman, *sans peur et sans reproche.*

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suasions of his friends to submit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the King intended to make him Secretary of State, he was positive to refuse it, declaring to his friends that he was most unfit for it. * * Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them; the first, the consideration *that his refusal might bring some blemish upon the King's affairs.* * * The other was, lest he should be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the House of Commons. * * For these reasons he submitted to the King's commands, and became his secretary." Horace Walpole's animadversions "have been overthrown by Sir Egerton Bridges (Biographical Peerage, vol. iii.) with a force and candour, and closeness of argument, before which all doubt on the subject must vanish."—(*Lodge.*)

It seems doubtful whether any human power could at this time have checked the revolutionary fever without blood. The passionate desire, rather than the hope to do so, influenced Falkland, and perhaps Hyde and Culpepper, in accepting office at such a time. They formed, in effect, the third ministry (with many interregnums of mere courtiers), that the King had chosen, and marked another stage in his moral progress. The first had been Buckingham, whom he chose for his own pleasure's sake; the second Laud and Strafford, whom he chose for his power's sake; this last of Falkland, Culpepper, and Hyde,[1] for his character's, and, perhaps, his conscience' sake.

Mr. Hyde[2] was a person of very different character: from the moment that he entered the royal service, he gave himself up not only to the King, but to

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[1] Lord Falkland was Private Secretary, Sir John Culpepper Chancellor of the Exchequer, *for life;* Hyde refused as yet to fill any acknowledged office.—*Clar.* ii. 99.

[2] Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, was born at Denton, near Salisbury, on the 18th of February 1609. His family belonged originally to Cheshire, and was one of those that have preserved in that great county possessions received by their ancestors from William the Conqueror. Being the younger son of a younger brother he had the destiny, and soon imbibed the power, of making his own way through the tough world. He was so forwarded in his learning by his own learned father, and a village schoolmaster, that he was received as an undergraduate of Magdalen, at Oxford, when he was only thirteen years of age. His elder brother dying, Hyde was removed by his father to the Temple, in order to study for the law; having been rather dissipated at the University. His uncle, Lord Chief Justice Hyde, died in 1628, but the young lawyer finding himself without patronage to forward him in the world resolved to make Industry his patroness, and in order to promote

Charles, without reservation. He was far better adapted to win and to keep the royal favour than either the scrupulous and blunt Lord Falkland, or the hot-headed and positive Colepepper. His character assimilated more to that of his master: he was very dexterous in resources, and very much preferred to "turn the flank" of a difficulty, than to charge it in front. His standard of honour and principle was very high, and no one could better appreciate the glory of uncompromising truth and stainless integrity; nevertheless, the corrupting knowledge of the world, which he had learned to consider as wisdom, made him doubt the expediency, if not

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his resolution married.* His wife was a beautiful Miss Ayliffe, who died soon after. In three years' time he married Miss Aylesbury, the mother of the future Queen of England, and with her he "lived comfortably in the most uncomfortable times." In 1632 he experienced the greatest of all losses, "not only the best father, but the best friend and the best companion he ever had, or ever could have." † He seems to have been a wise, devout, and learned man, who used life as a dangerous acquaintance, and met death as an assured friend. Hyde struggled bravely on in his profession enjoying the acquaintance of the wiser and best men of his time, and learning those constitutional principles of rational liberty it required many a year of popular licence to blunt. He was chosen Member for Wotton Basset to the Short Parliament in April 1640. He supported Pym, and addressed himself energetically to promote the redress of the Grievances. At this time he had the confidence of Archbishop Laud, and he earnestly endeavoured, through him, to persuade the King against dissolving this important Parliament, but in vain. He was again returned to the Long Parliament, and soon found the public business so pressing,

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* As he says of himself, "in order to call home all straggling and wandering thoughts, which naturally produce irresolution and inconstancy in the mind."—*Life*, p. 19.

† *Ibid.* p. 18.

the possibility of acting up to that ideal which he dreamed of, and which Falkland always strove to realize. The great history which has made his name immortal, unconsciously displays his character more faithfully than his professed autobiography represents it. It reveals a vast knowledge of men, more analytical, perhaps, than practical; a vivid perception of the difficulties of the time, rather than a knowledge of their nature, or a power to control them. He had the fault of many lawyers, that of judging too much by precedents, and that, too, in an unprecedented era. His eloquence is very graceful; full of the happiest epithets and most

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that he abandoned the bar and devoted himself altogether to the House of Commons. He was chairman in many Committees, in one of which he sharply reprehended Oliver Cromwell, and, as he conceived, laid the foundation of all his future enmity. Amongst other Committees, to that concerning Episcopacy he was chairman; and Pym, Hampden, and Hazlerigg, who kept a "stock-table," often invited him to dine with them (the House then kept such disorderly hours that it oftimes did not rise until four o'clock P. M. !) These leading men paid much attention to him, endeavouring to win him wholly to their party; as also did Fiennes and Henry Martyn. At the same time, however, the King made overtures to a man who had displayed much talent and great zeal for the Church, and Hyde was soon deep in the royal confidence. He drew up the answer to the Remonstrance, but refused the office of Solicitor-General. He soon became very "unbeloved" by the Parliamentary party, and at length openly professed his adherence to the Court, Henceforth his history is told in the events of the times: thus far I have copied from himself. The character in the text is taken principally from his own drawing. He paints character so strongly *con amore*, that he may even be entrusted with his own; as a celebrated critic is said to have been entrusted by "The Quarterly" with the judgment on one of his own works, which he cut up with such instinctive severity that it died of the paternal discipline.

felicitous phrases; but it wants terseness, arrangement, and that earnestness which would have supplied both. In his history, as in his life, we can trace the gradual transformation of the patriot into the courtier; and the progress is so marked that we can almost trace the gradual absorption of the "independent member's" manlier and more catholic feeling into that condition which fitted him for even brief honour at the Court of the Second Charles.

Sir John Colepepper "had spent some years of his youth in foreign parts, and especially in armies, where he had seen good service, and might have been a good officer if he had intended it. He was of a rough nature, a hot head, and of great courage. His estate was very moderate,"[1] but sufficed to a man whose habits of life required little luxury and no refinement. He was very economical, moreover, and always kept in view the improvement of his fortune. He had great energy, and a strong persuasive eloquence, which gave him influence in the House of Commons. This he seems only to have used sufficiently to make himself worth winning over by the King: he left the Parliamentary party at his first summons. He was very indifferent on matters of religion, and only desired that it should be uniform, in order that the State might not be troubled with its disputes. He was very uncourtly, and yet prevailed more with the King and Queen

[1] Clarendon's Life, p. 93, &c.

than the most refined sycophants: *his* flattery was so rugged, it appeared as if it must be natural. His confident and imperious manner carried with it great authority in the vacillating councils of the King, and for secret agency he had the address to make use of another person, John Ashburnham, who insinuated all his designs to the royal ear, in private, as if they were his own. This minister was made Chancellor of the Exchequer for life, contrary to all precedent, but was soon afterwards made Master of the Rolls, which he continued to be until his death.

This new ministry was of the greater importance to the King, as they had seceded from the popular party, and had come to his counsels well experienced in all the tactics of the Opposition. The King was quick to perceive this advantage, and grateful to those who brought such an accession of strength to his failing throne. He promised his advisers thenceforth to hold no communication with the dangerous House of Commons, except with their knowledge and advice.

Scarcely had he made the promise to these able and honourable men, when he broke it! Truly his flexible character required annealing in the fire of misfortune, and outraged truth deserved the bitter expiation that future want of confidence imposed upon him. The rash and dangerous Digby[1] had persuaded

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, 11.

his unhappy master that the five leading members of the Commons[1] were his only dangerous opponents; that by one bold stroke these rebellious men might be made away with, and a strong monarchy re-established for ever; that it was necessary to act with promptitude and secrecy; and, above all, without the knowledge of his new advisers; their calm and calculating judgment would certainly disapprove the measure,—a measure which, if successful, would enable the king to dispense with such timid counsellors, and to rely solely upon men like Digby. By such advice the doomed King committed the crowning error of his whole disastrous reign. He proceeded suddenly to the House of Commons, attended "by four hundred cavaliers and servants." The tramp of armed men was for the first time

[1] Pym, Hampden, Haslerig, Hollis, and Strode: Lord Kimbolton (afterwards Mandeville) in the Upper House was similarly threatened, but stood his ground, and was safe.* Lady Carlisle served Pym better for love (such as it was) than his other Court spies did for pay. The Queen, eager to retail the news, announced that the King was gone to the Commons to execute his purpose; Lady Carlisle's messenger anticipated him.† Lilly gives a different account.—*Maseres' Tr.* p. 171.

* He had been with Charles in his Spanish expedition: he was one of the Commissioners to Scotland in 1640; an honest and brave man, who strove to save the monarchy by changing the ministry. His brother was a bigoted priest, Abbot of Pontoise. —*Evelyn*, v. n. p. 36.

† Lady Lucy Percy, Dowager Countess of Carlisle; one of the few traitresses in history (except, of course, in love affairs). She was the second wife (now widow) of James, first Earl of Carlisle, celebrated by Waller, and mistress to Strafford; afterwards, by no very unintelligible change, to his destroyer.—*See back*, p. 74.

audible in that always revered and now awful assembly; and the royal voice was heard above their clamour "commanding, on their lives, his eager followers to stand back." And the King entered. He took off his hat and bowed in respect to the Senate, whose honour he so outraged, and then he advanced to the Speaker's chair. The Elector Palatine[1] alone accompanied him through the numbers who had risen, and stood uncovered to receive his Majesty. The solemn silence with which he was received, confused the irresolute and wavering King; the Speaker left the chair for him; but he stood hesitating on the step, as he looked round for the Five who had so long set his power at defiance. His glance encountered a sight to make a firmer spirit quail; the representatives of England and its wrongs stood there; made strong through the King's former weakness, stronger than ever now! His present accusers, his future judges, with quiet and stern observance noted down every act and word of their invader and their future victim. It was a trying ordeal: a Cromwell might have braved it, as afterwards he did, with unflinching hardihood; but Charles was unequal to the task. Suddenly his

[1] A little before this time Charles Louis had been released from his imprisonment at Moulins, and had returned into England to intrigue for the reversion of his uncle's crown. "The Parliament assigned to him 8000*l.* a-year out of the King's revenue, until after his murther, when he departed home upon the articles of the Munster Treaty, by which he was restored to his dignities and sovereignty."—*Heath's Chronicle*, p. 10.

false position became apparent to him; he faltered in his demand for his enemies' arrest, and then broke down into the exclamation, "The birds are flown!" A few hurried words, desiring that the accused members "might be sent to him," was all he added, and then he left the House as abruptly as he had entered. Sounds of "Privilege! privilege!" followed him as he passed from the House; and Cavalier shouts of "For a King! for a King!"[1] received him in the street.

The "birds had indeed flown;" information of the King's purpose had been promptly conveyed to Pym by Lady Carlisle's emissary, and a little later to the Speaker, by Captain Langrish, who announced that his Majesty was on his way. Hereupon the Five accused Members were prevailed upon to leave the House and retire into the City; Strode alone objected, and was pulled out by force.[2]

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[1] For the King's act no excuse whatever can be made; but his armed followers' attendance, which seems much to aggravate the offence, may be explained. When the Houses had declined the guard that the King appointed, instead of that of Essex, removed by his command, the Commons had ordered that any member might bring his own servants armed to protect them, and thus we find in the stormy debate on the Remonstrance, when, Sir Philip Warwick says, they were near "sheathing their swords in each others' bowels," that a young Welsh page insisted on being let in to join the fight. Beside these armed retainers belonging to the members, there were always tumultuous assemblages of mobs about the Houses of Parliament. But for these considerations, doubtless, the King would have gone to the House unattended, as he did the next day into the heart of the angry City.

[2] Hallam, ii. 172; Forster, ii. 246; Sir R. Varney's Notes, and Rushw. Coll. iv. 477; Mad. de Motteville, quoted by Miss Strickland. The delay that allowed these various movements to

The King returned to Whitehall palace baffled and disgraced, having placed himself exactly in the position his worst enemies desired, and justified almost any measures they could devise. In the vain attempt to justify his fault by consistency, he published a proclamation against the accused members, "forbidding any person to harbour them, and closing all the ports to prevent their escape!" This was done by the advice of Lord Digby, who, at the same time, offered to go with Sir Thomas Lunsford to the City, "to seize upon the delinquents, and bring them away alive, or else leave them dead upon the spot."[1] The offer of the Cavaliers was declined; but, like every other incident in this ill-managed Court, it soon transpired, and threw the City into a paroxysm of anger and alarm.

On the following day the King, with characteristic courage, proceeded to the City without a guard, demanded the accused members, and declared his inviolable attachment to the Constitution. He passed through the crowded streets without any welcome, however; but sometimes a shout of "Privilege!" was sounded in his

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take place, is accounted for one of those traits that often occur to soften the worst points in the career of Charles I. Hurried and excited as he must have been with such a momentous and doubtful task before him, he waited to receive petitions, "according to his wont," from several applicants who pressed around him on his approach to the House. The delay thus created, fortunately for himself, rendered his expedition nugatory.—*Mad. de Motteville quoted in Miss Strickland's "Henrietta Maria."*

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 130.

ears, and on his return to the palace he first heard the ominous exclamation, "To your tents, O Israel!"

With the King's abasement the Parliament's aggrandizement increased; a committee was appointed to meet in the City, with the accused members, at Merchant Tailors' Hall. Thenceforth the regular routine of revolutions was gone through. Business was suspended, shops were closed, and the streets swarmed with excited people, swaggering with unaccustomed weapons, and mouthing heroic sentences. There was a "banquet" too, and countless petitioners waited on the Parliament, instigated and instigating to the most decisive measures. Buckinghamshire yeomen, city porters to the number of 15,000, apprentices, beggars, and legions of women, "like those of Tekoah," as they called themselves, presented their separate petitions against the King. Pym came forth to receive and answer the latter deputation, and assured them that their petition "was very seasonable, and very thankfully accepted."[1]

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[1] The paramour of Lady Carlisle concluded by requesting the prayers of the petitioners for the success of their petition. Here, in a few months, we may read a change: "In the year 1643, several thousand women signed a petition to the Parliament, entitled, 'The *Humble Petition* of many civilly-disposed women, inhabiting the cities of London and Westminster.' It was carried on the 9th of August, by a multitude of the meaner sort of women, with white ribbons in their hats. They remained in Palace-yard, and raved 'Peace! peace! give us those traitors; give us that dog Pym.'"—*The 29th of May.*

On the 11th of January, the Five Members were brought back in triumph to Westminster by water, rowed up the Thames by volunteer sailors, and escorted by armed vessels, with cannon loaded and matches lighted. Banners, and standards, and thousands of spectators, lined the river-banks; while loud music played, and guns thundered, and shouts of triumph hailed the champions of the people. In this dangerous fashion the Members returned to their House of Commons "altered and fiercer men."

The night before their ovation the King and Court had gone away in silence to Hampton Court. They left London unnoticed, and attended only by forty Cavaliers. Charles was long and urgently requested to return; but he never saw Whitehall again until he was brought thither to be slain.

A Democracy[1] had now virtually replaced the ancient Monarchy of England, and sat in its high places, self-invested with unlimited power. The King was, however, still nominally acknowledged by the Commons; and so dear to the country was still the name of Royalty, that every Roundhead edict assailing it still ran in the name of "the King and Parliament."

[1] Hume.

CHAPTER IV.

PRELIMINARIES OF THE WAR.

STATE OF LONDON AND ITS CONTROVERSIES. — THE KING'S COURT AT YORK. — ATTEMPT ON HULL. — SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT. — GENERAL ARMING. — ATTEMPT UPON COVENTRY. — RETURN TO THE STANDARD.

Lament—lament,
And let thy tears run down,
To see the rent
Between the robe and crown;
Yet both do strive to make it more
Than 'twas before:
War, like a serpent, has its head got in,
And will not end so soon as 't did begin.

Old Song.

THE LONDON of the Cavaliers differed as much socially as architecturally from its gigantic successor in our time. It then possessed so formidable an influence in the affairs of the empire, that, to any enemy but the enemy of the King its occupation would probably have decided the contest. The vast wealth, and power, and intelligence, that now render all England vital, were then very much concentrated in the narrow and dirty, yet picturesque streets of the old capital.[1] At that period one

[1] I subjoin below an account of those streets from the most picturesque writer that ever surveyed them; but doubtless much

bridge, eight hundred feet long, with a drawbridge in the middle, sufficed to connect the fields and villages on the southern bank of the Thames with the dense city, that in 1600 was composed entirely of wood. The streets, as we find them in old prints, and paintings, were as narrow at the basement as those that now bid defiance to an omnibus, and far narrower above; for the black and white half-wooden houses beetled over the lower stories, till they sometimes almost encountered their neighbours over the way. The *façade* of each street—broken, confused, and picturesque as those of part of Chester—were still further varied by the numerous sign-

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that was too familiar in his eyes to notice, would now seem infinitely strange to a modern Cockney.

"I find London to be a town so nobly situated, and upon a river such as Europe certainly shews not a more usefull and agreeable, yet a city consisting of a wooden, northern, and inartificial congestion of houses; some of the principall streets so narrow, as there is nothing so unlike as its prospect from a distance, and its asymmetrie within the walls. Their fountains, the pride and grace of our streets, are here immured, which does greatly detract from the beauty of the Carrefours, and intercepts the view. Amongst the pieces of modern architecture, I have observed but two which were remarkable, the portico of St. Paul's church and the banquet-house at Whitehall."—[Evelyn now speaks of the Puritan time.] "You would be amazed at the genius of the age that should suffer this Godly and venerable fabric [of St. Paul's] to be built upon, converted into raskally warehouses, and so sordidly obscured and defaced, that an argument of greater avarice and meanness, malice and deformity of mind, cannot possibly be expressed. England is the sole spot in all the world where, among Christians, their churches are made jakes or tables, markets and tippling houses, and where there were more need of scorpions than thongs to drive out the publicans and money-changers; in sum, where these excellent uses are pretended to be the marks of piety and reformation."—*Evelyn*, p. 149.

boards that swung above each doorway. These were considered necessary appendages of every shop and lodging-house, in order to catch the eyes of the illiterate passenger, and rivet it when caught.[1] A long street on a windy day looked like a great fluttering picture-gallery, in which all animated nature, and many monsters, were depicted: lions and swans of every colour, dragons and unicorns of every shape, flaunted in the air. In the warehouses beneath, and the eating-houses, very curious articles of apparel and luxury shewed dimly through the dull and narrow panes, or appealed to the appetite with very different luxuries from ours. On the outspread board, though devoid of linen or of three-pronged forks, were often to be seen the flesh of wild beeves and bustards, and sometimes even of that royal favourite, the boar; cygnets and herons, too, had no business there, being rigidly preserved, but there they were; "marinated" fish, carp and tench; and roasted chubbs; and there were manchets and marchpane, ollas and dishes of *haugou*, flanked by large flasks and "choppins" of canary and sherries-sack, but no tea, coffee, or chocolate, asparagus,

[1] It affords a curious proof of the watchful and unscrupulous zeal of the Parliamentary party to inflame the minds of the illiterate people, that pamphlets, consisting entirely of prints, were circulated to describe the Irish rebellion. Every sort of cruelty and horror is represented in these curious picture-books, which at once addressed themselves to the eyes and passions of their spectators. Thus, also, sign-boards were used, as hieroglyphics were in ancient days, for those to whom names and numbers in print would have been an "ogum."

lettuce, or cauliflower, until 1660. The customers, too, were very different in externals from those who now throng the same streets, with the same passions and desires. The high-crowned hat, with coat, or rather doublet, of the Greenwich pensioner's cut, were common to almost all; the boys may be seen any day perpetuated in the scholars of the Blue-coat School, and their species of cap, or "demi-hat," as it was called, was worn by the apprentices and the labouring classes: there was one peculiarity common to all that were, or would be thought Puritans, dark garments and dark looks.[1] London had of late years "incredibly encreased by the trade and the great resort that the distractions of other countries"[2] had

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[1] These Londoners died at the rate of 250 a-week (*i. e.* 13,000 a-year); the mortality at Amsterdam was only fifty during the same period.—*Howell's "Letters;"* who says, that during the plague in 1625, 5200 persons died in one week. These seem very uncertain statistics, yet *Ward* (writing in 1668) seems to assimilate with this calculation, allowing for the increase of population: he says, that "15,000 died annually when there was no plague." This, even allowing twenty-five years to be the value of a life—probably too much—would only give 375,000 as the population of London at that time.

[2] "It only, of any place of this realm, is able to furnish the sudden necessity with a strong army. It availeth the Prince in tonnage, poundage, and other his customs, much more than all the rest of the realme." . . . . . "It yieldeth a greater subsidy; I mean not for the proportion of the value of the goods onely, but also for the faithfull service there used in making the assize, for no where else be men taxed so near to their just value as in London, yea, many are found there, that for their countenance and credit sake, refuse not to bee rated above their ability."—*Stowe's "Survey,"* p. 700. London, 1633. The Excise comes to about 12,000*l.* a-year, the fourth part of what all England pays: there were 150,000 houses in London before the great fire.—*Ward's "Diary."* 1668.

guided to its peaceful haven;[1] and "suburbs" began to extend towards St. Giles's, and even so far as to the Haymarket. Lord Clarendon deplored this extention, which Elizabeth[2] and James in vain attempted by proclamation to prevent.

Proportionate improvements had also taken place in its internal arrangements: water from the New River flowed in leaden pipes, and was attainable to the citizens in shapeless fountains let into the dead walls; and the streets, though dirty, were paved throughout.

The city walls were little more than two miles in circumference, and "pierced" with six actual gates;[3] but new streets were rapidly branching away in all directions, feeling their way by such "garden houses" as Milton lived in near Aldersgate, and such palaces as Lord Craven's in Drury Lane, which afforded an asylum for the Queen of Bohemia. On the "Reading Road," also, there was a memorable garden-house for gambling and public entertainments, called Piccadilly;[4] and thus has since given name to the whole street. Hyde Park[5] was even

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[1] Clarendon, ii. 150.

[2] It was forbidden to erect any new buildings where none had before existed in the memory of man.

[3] Aldsgate, Bishopgate, Cripplegate, Newgate, and Ludgate.—*Stow's "Survey,"* p. 8.

[4] Here Hyde endeavoured to induce Lord Essex to spare the life of Strafford, and received the brutal proverb for an answer, "stone dead hath no fellow."

[5] "The Hyde Park was used by the late King and nobility for the freshness of the air and the goodly prospect, that which now they pay for here in England, though it be free in all the

then a place of pleasantness for its air and beauty. Ladies of fashion were accustomed to drive there in tawdrily gilt and painted square coaches, drawn by large Flemish horses; their footmen running by their side, and cavaliers riding in their company.[1] Returning from the park, they passed through the open space then intervening,[2] to the Spring Gardens, whose crystal well was the least of their attractions; or sauntered on to Whitehall Stairs, and took boat upon the Thames, where the "swans swam round them in flocks, and the oars were often tangled in the water-lilies." Prince Rupert in later times had a house in Spring Gardens, looking over St. James's Park; he afterwards exchanged it for one in the Barbican, a very different and distant locality. From Spring Gardens, the Palace of Whitehall spread its wide precincts along St. James's

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world besides. Every coach and horse which enters buying his mouthful [of air] and permission from the publican who has bought it, and causes the entrance to be guarded with porters and long staves. (N. B.—Every coach was made to pay 1*s.*, and horses 6*d.*) The manner is, as the company returns, to alight at the Spring Gardens, the inclosure not disagreeable, for the solemness of the grove, the warbling of the birds, as it opens into the spacious walks of St. James's Park."—*Evelyn.*

[1] I believe there was not any Arab blood in the horse of England yet. As in the old days of knight-errantry, officers of distinction had large powerful horses (anciently from Germany and afterwards from Flanders) for field or battle-service; (hence, "riding the great horse" was martial exercise,) but they ordinarily rode lighter horses, called "amblers."—*Howell, Duke of Newcastle, on Horsemanship*, 1668.

[2] I have heard an aged lady, lately deceased, say that, in her youth, she lived in *a suburban villa*, in Berkeley Square, whither men "used to come *out* to shoot snipes."

Park, and across thence over an archway, to Whitehall Gardens, along the Thames as far as Scotland Yard.[1] The tilting-yard occupied the present parade-ground of the Horse-guards, and the "cock-pit," over which the younger members of the Royal Family had apartments, was close by. From Charing Cross a one-sided street ran eastward toward Covent Garden, commanding a view of the Hampstead hills from its back windows, and of the river in front, with some few interruptions from the Duke of Buckingham's Palace, Somerset House, and others.

The principal Cavaliers lived, for the most part, at some distance from the Court, about Great Queen Street, Covent Garden, and Lincoln's Inn Fields; but they had at this time almost entirely abandoned London to their enemies. Many of the leading citizens, inclined to the King's party; but, their great interests and only homes being then in the very heart of the City, they perforce remained, to watch over them. Our merchant-princes vied in magnificence and wealth with the Florentine and Venetian nobles,[2] and their commerce

[1] Until James's time it was appropriated as the residence of the Scotch Kings who came to pay their court.

[2] Half a century of profound peace had rendered England an asylum and a depôt for distracted Europe, and her alliance the first object of desire; even the proud Spaniard made a proverb of "Guerra con todo il mondo, y paz con Inghilterra" (War with all the world and peace with England). And Prince Maurice, of Nassau, used to say, "If the English were devils, Holland must have, or make, a peace with them."—*Howell.* It was nearly two centuries (1414) since our nursery hero, Whittington, had really given Henry V. the most agreeable entertainment that subject

had spread over the whole world. There was a chivalry in the very commerce of those times: gallant daring pioneered its progress; a good faith that was proverbial, secured its conquests, and British energy maintained them. Yet its great ministers, the merchants, were content to live, and love, and toil, and die in the heart of the unlighted, ill-paved, and over-crowded city.[1] From them there was a regular gradation downward in the order of their state; and this gradation was observed with a strict regard to authority, precedence, and even dress. Public opinion, concentrated on so small a space, had an almost omniscient supervision, and an *esprit de corps* prevailed that tended to actuate the whole City by a common impulse, and gave to the City a character of a State, as distinct from the country as that of Venice. The "trades" or "crafts" of that period had something the effect of clans in the Highlands; the "master" represented the chieftain, the "apprentice," the clansman. The latter was as zealous for the honour and the party of the former, as if he stood kilted on the heather, instead of wearing a cropped head and woollen hose, behind a counter.

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ever offered monarch, at Guildhall: all that wealth could gather from the wide world was there, and the hearth blazed with a fire made of cinnamon. When the King's health was drunk, the Lord Mayor threw a scroll of parchment into the fragrant fire; it was the King's bond for 60,000*l*.

[1] Many palaces of these old merchants now lie *perdus*, in the midst of dark and noisy thoroughfares. They are at present inhabited only by clerks and porters, or else they are mere warehouses. In "Coningsby," we have a bright picture of one of these mansions restored to its old glories, by Sidonia.

And now this once-loyal people of London—merchants, trades, masters, and apprentices,—appeared violently Roundhead as one man: political, like elemental fire, burns most fiercely in most crowded thoroughfares, and every man, woman, and child seemed to have caught the flame. The meek and portly grocer, as well as the hot-headed young apprentice, the burly coal-heaver as well as the City knight, all donned the "buff and bandolier"[1] and swaggered proudly before the City dames. For the metropolis a war seemed rather a favourable as well as very exciting event. There was a hectic impulse given to trade; the inns were well filled; monied men got good interest for their money, and poor men were bettered by its circulation. Taxing had not yet begun; coals still came from Newcastle at twenty-five shillings a chaldron; and the citizens found themselves not only very resolute, but very prosperous patriots. They eagerly enrolled themselves in ranks; they even contributed plate and money to pay their fellow-soldiers. They grew very wrathful against the King for the constitutional offences to which he had succeeded, and which he had removed; as well as for those for which he was himself too truly responsible: the "Remonstrance" had succeeded in reminding them what ill-used people they had ever been. They slaked their thirst

[1] The buff doublet was a sort of leathern shooting-jacket, laced in front; the bandolier was a broad belt worn crosswise, and hung with cartridges.

for excitement at the inexhaustible fountain of Puritan preaching, and their party rage assumed a professedly religious guise. They persecuted Papists to the death, broke painted windows, and made great mockery of altars and once holy things: the Old Testament came very much into fashion and misuse: "Love your enemies," appeared a doctrine very inapplicable to the present emergency; and "Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly," was a style much more adapted to the Puritan pulpits, and much more congenial to the natural heart of man. If they did not make use of the same imprecations as the Cavaliers, they dealt freely in all the imprecations of Isaiah; and if the King's men appealed to the case of David, the Roundheads retorted bitterly with Ahab. Thus the old City, yearning after some vague and unimaginable good, ranted, and raged, and fermented into such heat as the leaders of the great movement required for their ends.[1]

The Commons were now absolute, and they proceeded to exercise their power as energetically as they had acquired it. Major-General Skippon[2] was

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[1] I have not given references for each of the foregoing descriptions, and assertions, for I have endeavoured to digest them out of many notes: some are advanced from memory, and many from such unquotable sources as prints (especially those in the grand Sutherland Collection in the Bodleian), and songs; besides Evelyn, Isaac Walton, Howell, Pepys, Ward, ("Diary") Peck's "Desiderata," and Sir Walter Scott, as good an authority as any of them.

[2] "Captain of the artillery garden," now general of the Train Bands, a new office. He had served long in Holland, and had

placed over the Tower. At the same time, Sir John Byron,[1] lieutenant of the Tower, and Lord Newport, master-general of the Ordnance, received orders couched in memorable terms: they were to allow no munition of war to be removed from their charge, without "the King's authority *signified by both Houses* of Parliament."

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risen from the ranks: he was a good officer, sober, orderly, illiterate, and opposed to the Church.—*Clarendon's Rebellion*, ii. 160.

[1] This gallant officer and his brave brothers will often appear in our history. He was member of Parliament for the town of Nottingham in the reign of James I., and for the county of Nottingham in that of Charles I. Sir John commanded the corps of reserve at the battle of Edgehill: the victory of Roundway Down, July 5, 1643, wherein Sir William Waller was routed, was chiefly owing to his skill and valour, having, at the head of his regiment, charged Sir Arthur Haselrigg's cuirassiers, and, after a sharp conflict, in which Sir Arthur received many wounds, compelled that impenetrable regiment (as Lord Clarendon writes) to fly. Sir John having given such proofs of his courage, and his six valiant brothers at that time following his loyal example, he was, in consideration thereof, in October 24, 1643, created Lord Byron, of Rochdale, in the county palatine of Lancaster, with limitation, in default of his own male issue, to each of his brave brothers. He married thrice, but dying in 1652 issueless, his barony devolved upon his brother, Richard, as second baron. This gallant Cavalier had received the honour of knighthood from Charles I. He was one of the "valiant colonels" at the battle of Edgehill, and subsequently governor of Appultz Castle, county Westmoreland. Lloyd, in his "Loyalists," says, he "deserves to be chronicled for his government of Newark, and many surprises of the enemy." He married Elizabeth, daughter of George Russell, Esq. of Ratcliffe, in Nottinghamshire, and died in 1679. *Robert* (Sir), colonel of foot on the royal side during the Civil Wars; *Philip* (Sir), who, after many signal services in Yorkshire, was killed at the head of his regiment, in the general storm of York by the Parliamentary army, 1644; *Thomas* (Sir), who commanded the Prince of Wales's regiment, under the Earl of Northampton, at the battle of Hopton Heath, March 19, 1642, and received a wound in the thigh, by which he was put *hors de combat;* he died December 9, 1643, at Oxford.—*Clarendon; Burke.*

"King Pym," as he was now popularly called, in satire or in earnest, was far more energetic, far-sighted, and powerful, than ever his "predecessor" was. "The most popular man in England," as Lord Clarendon confesses him to have been, he was, likewise, the most despotic. His great eloquence collected and controlled the electric passions with which the people were now fraught, and bade it gather and burst in whatsoever direction it pleased him. In all revolutions, by the very necessity and instinct of the case, there must be some supreme chief, as in more settled governments, and at this moment Pym culminated high over his associate democrats. Nevertheless, there was one matter in which this new potentate found as much difficulty as his royal rival had ever done; this was the want of money. The City was looked upon by all parties as an inexhaustible resource; but it refused to lend its money, except on certain conditions. These conditions, however, were very pleasing to the Parliament,[1] and were soon afterwards complied with.

While the sinews of war were being raised, the public attention was amused, and warlike preparations masked, by remonstrances with the King, and by royal declarations in return. Newspapers, also, now rapidly multiplied, and pamphlets, like autumn leaves, were whirled about in every direction by

[1] One was the expulsion of bishops from the House, the last concession the King made, and one which thus facilitated a great loan to his enemies.

the "storms of the State;" some pregnant with the noblest sentiments, and winged with the most energetic eloquence; others, full of the lowest ribaldry and grossest obscenity. These publications were pressed with an ingenuity worthy of modern advertisement-offices on the notice of the public. The opinion of the People was thus applied to for the first time; they accepted (and for ever) the invitation to think for themselves. The loyal principle was the easiest to comprehend, they were so used to it; but the republican was the most attractive, from its novelty and enormous (theoretic) advantages. In these writings the rights and wrongs of either side are eloquently and powerfully pleaded. The greatest stake in this life was at issue, and the contest had already lasted long enough to bring forward the ablest minds into the most responsible places. Intellect assumed the lead, that in more tranquil times had been, and was to be again, the perquisite of courtly favourites: those who had only genius or virtue to recommend them were eagerly listened to, and invested with a certain consideration, which was power. We are deeply indebted to these eloquent advocates of the Crown as well as to those of the People for developing, not only our constitutional privileges, but our conceptions concerning them. We have unconsciously formed much of our political judgment as to what we should bear, and what we should forbear, from the teaching and the reputation of the

revolutionary leaders of 1642; the political patriarchs who led our fathers out of the house of bondage, though but to wander through a wilderness. We could not, perhaps, derive our knowledge from a better source; every writer was then passionately in earnest, and uttered freely his strong convictions; every sentiment then expressed by the contending orators was severely combated and of lofty tone; rising after every collision like heron and falcon, each striving to assume a higher and less assailable position. The popular side of the question is naturally distinguished by its greater breadth and grasp, and consequent vagueness; and there is something sublime in the constant appeal to the future that marked the eloquence of orators; in the contemplation (which they professed), of posterity being a party to all their legislation. There is admirable art, too, in their leading the people gradually to consider monarchy as superior to the monarch; loyalty, as not exclusively dependent on King Charles: they conciliated the old, deep-seated prejudices of the nation by upholding the former, while they shewed no mercy to the latter:—"The passive loyalty of this suffering nation," Pym told them, "had outdone the active loyalty of all times and stories."[1]

"The House of Commons having thus deeply fixt their root, it is no marvel they raise their top

[1] Forster's "Statesmen."

to that height, that, ere long, it shadowed the Lords' House; and by dripping upon them, in some few years caused them to be voted useless."[1] Even now, the Lords were so panic-stricken that they quietly accepted as law every edict that the Commons pleased to transmit to them; whilst in the Lower House, "no man durst" question the limitations of that *privilege* which now embraced all things.[2]

All this time the King had by no means escaped from the general troubles of the State; petitions, remonstrances, and committees, had pursued him to Hampton Court, and afterwards to Windsor, whither he retired (on January the 12th), in a vain hope of security and repose. The tone of his replies is now sensibly altered; his fallen estate dictates conciliatory, if not humbled, expressions; and Lord Clarendon's tact is substituted for Lord Digby's arrogant and imperious style. Indeed, the royal communications to the Commons, as given in Clarendon's History, are scarcely to be distinguished from the history itself, either in manner or matter. Nevertheless, the accusation against the Five Members was still persisted in, though the King promised that their trial should be conducted "in an unquestionable way."[3] This powerless threat was scarcely wanting to confirm the accused in the most strenuous measures of resistance: as far as

[1] Sir P. Warwick, 182. [2] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 172.
[3] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 175. *Ibid.* ii. 179.

regarded themselves, they knew that henceforth there was no peace, no alternative but their destruction, or the King's; and on this pretence Lord Digby had been detected, they said, in an attempt to organise a new Army Plot at Hampton Court. The Parliament thereupon proceeded to pass the "Militia Bill," conferring on themselves the exclusive power over the military force of the kingdom; and they now added to the former provisions of the bill, "that all forts, castles, and garrisons should be placed in the hands of such persons as they could confide in."

Hull at this time contained the chief magazine in the kingdom for arms and ammunition, except that which was in the Tower. All the artillery and stores belonging to the disbanded northern army, and to the dismantled towns of Berwick and Carlisle, had been laid up in Hull for future emergencies, and now an emergency indeed was come. The King sent the Earl of Newcastle[1] to the north,

[1] William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, is said, by Cibber, to have been one of the most finished gentlemen, the most distinguished patriot, general, and statesman of his age. He was born in 1592, and his father (Sir Charles Cavendish) instructed him by the best masters in every science. This course of education being early completed, the reputation of his abilities attracted the attention of King James, who made him a Knight of the Bath in 1610, and, in 1620, Baron Ogle and Viscount Mansfield. Retaining the same favour under Charles I., he received the additional title of Lord Cavendish of Ballsover and Earl of Newcastle. In 1638 he was appointed governor to the Prince of Wales, and in 1639, when the troubles in Scotland broke out, he commanded a volunteer troop of horse, incorporated under the name of the Prince's troop. During this command he had a contest with

with private instructions, to possess himself of this town and magazine and to raise forces for protect-

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Lord Holland, to whom he sent a challenge; but the affair having been disclosed to the King, it was made up, not without leaving an imputation on Lord Holland's courage. After the battle of Marston Moor, he embarked for Hamburgh, and resided, during the interregnum, at Paris and Antwerp, where he underwent a variety of misfortunes for sixteen years. He then returned to England with his Sovereign, who raised him to the dukedom. He ended his days in retirement, devoting himself to those literary pursuits which had attracted him in youth. He died in 1676. "He was a man" (writes Lord Oxford) "extremely known from the course of life into which he was forced, and who would soon have been forgotten in the walk of fame which he chose for himself. Yet, as an author, he is familiar to those who scarce know any author, from his book on horsemanship. Though 'amorous in poetry and musick,' he was fitter to break Pegasus for a *ménage*, than to mount him on the steeps of Parnassus." * * Lord Clarendon declares, "that nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoyed in a full and ample fortune, but honour and ambition to serve the King when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him." One of the noble historian's finest portraits is of this duke: his duchess (a sister of Lord Lucas) has left another more diffuse, but not less entertaining. The following is an extract: "My lord is a person whose humour is neither extravagantly merry nor unnecessarily sad; his mind is above his fortune, as his generosity is above his purse; his courage above danger, his justice above bribes, his friendship above self-interest, his truth too firm for falsehood, his temperance beyond temptation; his conversation is pleasing and affable, his wit is quick and his judgment strong, distinguishing clearly, without clouds of mistakes; his discourse is always new upon the occasion, without troubling the hearers with old historical relations, nor stuft with useless sentences; his behaviour is manly without formality, and free without constraint, and his mind hath the same freedom; his nature is noble, and his disposition sweet; his loyalty is proved by his publick service to his King and country, by his after hazarding of his life, by the losse of his estate and banishment of his person; his necessitated condition, and his constant and patient suffering." The duchess computes his losses from the Civil Wars rather over than under the sum of 733,579*l.*

ing it, as soon as occasion should arise. The Commons, however, received immediate notice of this arrangement through their spies; and, almost as soon as the destined governor arrived in Hull, he received orders to attend the Parliament, which, after communicating with the King, he obeyed.

The Houses then requested the King that the magazine might be transferred from Hull to London; the King hesitated to reply, and they sent Sir John Hotham,[1] on their own authority, to be governor of the town, and to raise forces for the protection of the magazine. This was the first exercise of their power over the "Militia;" the bill intended to confer it had not yet even passed the Lords.

The King still lingered on at Windsor, hoping to observe the returning tide of popular feeling, which was said to extend to the Lords, and to give them courage to stand upon their defence.[2] The Parliament still fanned the flame of the country's discontent. Vehement speeches, fiery pamphlets, furious sermons, were still uttered, and constant

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[1] Sir John Hotham had some property, and, therefore, it was presumed, some popularity in the neighbourhood of Hull. His son was sent by the Commons as a spy upon his father, the first of many instances in this war of political intrigue dividing families against themselves; (there seems little doubt that Sir Harry Vane was privy to his son's conduct.) Clarendon says of the elder Hotham, that he was a "rough, rude, covetous, proud, and ambitious man;" devoid of generosity, crafty, shrewd, judicious, and self-possessed. Yet he was "cozened" by Digby.

[2] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 191, who says, that the tumult against the King, and the driving him out of London, "began to be more spoken of than the accusing of the Five Members." This

remonstrances were addressed to the King, but intended for the people; all these means were exerted to the uttermost, to infuse into the multitude the same passions that animated the hearts of the resolute—the now desperate—Five. The King had raised these men to the height of that power from which he had himself so fallen.

"Fallen, in ten short days," says his own historian, "to such a lowness, that his own servants durst hardly avow the waiting on him."[1] Compelled, in his royal palace of Windsor, to sell his plate "for his more necessary occasions,"[2] beset daily with mobs and insults under the appearance of petitioners and petitions; the wife that he loved too well, threatened with accusation of treason; every effort to recover himself denounced; and every secret betrayed. Such was the result of sixteen years of statecraft, neutralized, in the crimes essential to its success, by a naturally gentle and noble heart.

At length his situation became too irksome, if

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seems borne out, if not by cotemporary authority, by the nature of the case, and by him who is cotemporary with all mankind:—

"Then will they mourn,
And wish they had not so accused him,
No, though they thought their accusation true."
All's Well that Ends Well.

The King humbled, exiled, and missed from his palace, no longer offered an object for hate or fear, but pity, which is akin to love.

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 182. *See* also Bulstrode, "Memoirs," p. 64, who makes use of the very same words.

[2] *Ibid.* 233, who adds, "the officers of customs—out of which no allowance for the weekly support of their Majesties' household had been made—being enjoined by the Commons not to issue out any money without their particular consent."

not too dangerous, to be longer borne: it was resolved that the terrified Queen should go to Portsmouth (whence Goring had secretly communicated his desertion of the Parliament), and the King betake himself to Hull. In these two strongholds they hoped to find security, and to afford a rallying point for those who still adhered to their cause. These plans, as usual, were betrayed as soon as formed.[1] The King's departure was postponed, and the Queen's destination altered to Dover and the Continent. On the 14th of February the King received Commissioners from Parliament, at Canterbury, and made his last concessions to them in form of law.[2] At the Queen's earnest intercession, he gave his sanction to the expulsion of Bishops from their seats in Parliament; and at the same time he signed away his right to impress soldiers for his service. "He perceived then," says Sir Richard Bulstrode,[3] "when it was too late, that his granting more than King had ever done, had encouraged the people to ask more than subjects had ever demanded. And yet the King declared that if he knew the particular and true grounds of his subjects' fears, he would most gladly apply [even further] remedies . . . in order to restore felicity both to King and people. But whatsoever the King said or promised

[1] Apparently without Goring's being involved in the discovery, however. The Parliament continued to place confidence in him.

[2] According to the "Iter Carolinum," and Somers' "Tracts," p. 263, Charles was at Canterbury on this occasion.

[3] "Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles the First," p. 64.

signified little to the Parliament, for then both Houses declared that they were the supreme judicature of the kingdom; and when they had once declared what the law of the land was, to have it contradicted was a breach of privilege, and not to be allowed."

During the lull caused by these two great concessions, the Queen escaped to Holland [Feb. 25], and the King went to Greenwich[1] [on the 26th]. Here he was met by the Lord Hertford, with the Prince of Wales, whom he had brought thither in defiance of the Parliamentary order to the contrary.[2] On the 28th,[3] the royal party proceeded to Theobald's,

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[1] A curious circumstance is related by Sir Richard Bulstrode, as being "very ominous" to the King whilst at Greenwich. The King was "setting his house in order," and ordered his statue to be removed to the Magazine. As it was being "carried from Greenwich Garden to the Magazine," a swallow marked on it "a stain like blood, which was wiped off immediately, but could never be gotten out." This statue was made by Bernini from a picture of King Charles, whose name was carefully concealed from the sculptor. Signor Bernini, after looking for sometime stedfastly upon it, said, "that he had never seen a face which shewed so much greatness, and, withal, such marks of sadness and misfortune," which proved too true, for never King kept up greater state, or was more majestic in keeping up his dignity, till at last he was made a spectacle both to man and angels before his own palace.—*Memoirs*, p. 66.

[2] That great and good man (as Sir P. Warwick calls the Earl of Newcastle,) for the King's sake, had resigned to Lord Hertford his post as governor to the Prince, knowing himself to be unpopular with the Commons; at the same time, Sir John Byron had requested to be removed from the command of the Tower: he was replaced by another brave and honest man, Sir John Coniers, who, however, was besieged by Skippon, under the pretence of acting as his guard.

[3] "Iter Carolinum."

escorted by a troop of horse, and forty or fifty gentlemen. "A train fit for him only on the highwaies," says Sir Philip Warwick. "Yet this was disclaimed against, as levying a war." The King rested for some days at this, his favourite home; and was there waited on by a Committee of both Houses, to remonstrate with him in favour of giving his assent to their Militia Bill. They also requested the King to leave the Prince of Wales [as a hostage, it would seem] "at St. James', or any other of his houses near London;"[1] and they complained much of "the jealousies and fears" his Majesty's conduct in general inspired. There is something almost absurd in the Parliament making such requests, even to such a king; but they probably presumed, all along, on the facility he had so cruelly displayed in his most faithful servant's death. "Has he given us the life of Strafford?" exclaimed Pym, almost incredulous when he first heard the strange tidings, "then he will refuse us nothing hereafter!"[2] And to do the unhappy Monarch justice, this one weak act against "the one supremely able minister he had,"[3] seems to have unnerved him for resistance to all measures against himself. "In the agony of the moment," at the same time that he abandoned Strafford to his enemies, he had abandoned the very palladium of his prerogative—the right of dissolving

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 270.
[2] Forster's "Life of Pym." [3] Carlyle.

Parliament. From that time forward he never made a stand until now, upon this Bill of the Militia. He seems to have become almost reckless of all power when once his high prerogative was invaded, and threw himself on the influence of chance to restore him to all, or nothing of what he had lost.

Upon this Militia Bill, however, he *did* make a stand. He felt that he was already virtually at war with the Parliament: unprepared as he was, he desired to gain time, but not at such a price as the surrender of his right and power to defend himself. As soon as the "petition" had been read, the King replied, thus pathetically, to those who had presented it: "*You* speak of fears and jealousies! Lay your hand on your hearts and ask yourselves whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies? If so, be assured that this your message hath nothing lessened them." For the militia, he said he had already given his reply; for his residence near them, he wished he had had no reason to absent himself, and appealed to their own consciences whether he had or not? "For his son, he should take that care of him which would justify him to God, as a father; and to his dominions, as a king; and, finally, that he had no thought but of peace and justice to his people, which he would by all fair means seek to preserve and to maintain, relying on the goodness and providence of God for the preservation of himself and of his rights."[1]

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 272.

This was a brave and manly speech, with one exception: when he declared that he had no thought but of "peace," he made a mental reservation. These reservations were his curse through life, and were now as useless as they were at all times unworthy. Nor is it any excuse for our King that the Commons were guilty of the same duplicity: they never professed to be magnanimous. The Parliament, on the receipt of this reply, made a virtual declaration of war.[1] Both Houses immediately resolved, upon debate—"That the kingdom be forthwith put in a posture of defence," cancelling, at the same time, all the commissions for Lords Lieutenancies of counties that had been granted by the King. At the same time, with greater falsehood than the King's, they assured the King that his fears concerning their preparations were perfectly groundless.[2] They next sent to the Earl of Northumberland,[3] as

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[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 272. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] This illustrious House was of yore singularly disloyal: it shed more of its blood on the scaffold than on the field, though there are as few battles as conspiracies in which a Percy is not to be found. The nobleman here mentioned, Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was the third son of Henry, ninth earl of that family. He was born in 1602, and educated at Christ Church, Oxford. On the accession of Charles I. he was called by writ to the House of Peers, under the title of Baron Percy, and in 1632 came into possession of the estates and title of his ancestors. Having passed through the forms of some minor naval commands, he was, in 1637, made Lord High Admiral. He became, two years later, Commander-in-Chief of the army, at that time raised to march against the Scottish Covenanters; but he soon betrayed his lukewarmness in the royal cause, and made excuse of illness to resign that trust. In 1642, he was tempted by his brother's share in the Army Plot to save him by coalescing with the

High-Admiral of England, to desire him to put the fleet in a state of defence, "for the honour, peace, and safety of his Majesty and his kingdom." "To which order the Earl returned an answer full of submission and obedience."

From Theobald's the King proceeded [on the 3rd March] to another of his palaces, at Royston, only twenty-one miles; thence, after five days' stay, to Newmarket, a distance of twenty miles. Here he remained five days also. He seems to have visited his different country seats as leisurely as if there was no war or any trouble tracking his footsteps. Probably each house that he thus visited for the last time, was left on a footing better suited to his altered fortunes. The royal progress seems seldom to have exceeded twenty-four miles a-day, which was about as much as his cavalcade could maintain for a continuance. There was indeed no occasion for haste; there was "no one waiting for him;" he was time enough wherever and whenever he arrived. Even on the

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revolutionary leaders. From this time he gave himself, wholly up to the popular party, and supported the extreme measures of Parliament: in obedience to them he equipped the fleet and placed it (1642) under the command of Lord Warwick, in defiance of the expressed desire of the King, to whom he quietly resigned his commission when it was demanded. In 1643, his name appears as an accessory to Waller's plot; again, as a commissioner from Parliament in the treaties of Oxford, Uxbridge, and Newport. In 1648, the royal children were committed to his charge. Upon the death of the King he retired to his estates in Sussex; and in 1660, concerted with Monk the means of the Restoration. He was appointed by Charles II. Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Sussex and Northumberland, and died in October 13, 1668.—*Clarendon; Lord Orford; Lodge; Warwick.*

Parliamentary side, the leaders were far from sufficiently prepared, either with motives (for the people) or munitions of war: the King was still more weak in both the latter perhaps, on the whole. On the 14th of March the King reached Huntingdon; on the 15th, Stamford; and four days afterwards he arrived at York.

Meanwhile the Parliament continued to thrive in strength and confidence, and began to betray symptoms of that arbitrariness which is too much the nature of all corporations that unite irresponsibility to power. "They commanded all judges and justices of the peace, and other officers," to execute all the old savage laws against Roman Catholics with full rigour: they found great fault with the sheriffs of London for not having executed seven priests confined in Newgate for exercising their vocation; and they demanded from the King that they should die.[1] They made a sale of the lands of Ireland belonging to the rebels there, and received one hundred pounds for every five hundred acres of land that they pretended to confer."[2] This measure drove many neutral Irishmen

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[1] This Parliament approved of eighteen witches being burnt at Chelmsford: they were found *guilty* by Lord Warwick and other Justices of the Peace.—*See Peck's Desiderata Curiosa.*

[2] It is curious to mark the antiquity of proverbs. Charles observed on this occasion that the Parliament was "Selling the bear's skin before he was killed." (Clar.) "Man proposes, God disposes." (Lord Wrottesley's MSS.) Many other expressions familiar to these days were so to those: "Going tick;" "Seeing's believing" (Lilly); "Cock sure;" "Down upon the nail"

into rebellion, by rendering them desperate; they conceived the utter suppression of their creed, and the extirpation of their nation, to be resolved upon.[1] And in this fear they only anticipated a future bill brought into Parliament, which was barely rejected. Those democrats who stood up so stoutly for their own freedom, would acknowledge none other: "toleration" was held to be a weak subterfuge of the devil's, and was denominated "soul-murder." Nor were they more lenient to political than to religious dissent: all candid expression of opinion was virtually suppressed. Sir Ralph Hopton, Godolphin, and Trelawny, were committed to prison; the first for dissenting to the declaration at Theobald's; the second for too wise and witty a retort.[2] The power of the City-Militia was transferred from the Lord Mayor, to persons only qualified for such a charge by their hostility to the King, and when the merchants drew up a petition against this breach of their charter and ancient custom, the Roundheads examined and committed to prison such citizens as had subscribed it.

Nevertheless, the power of the Roundheads

(Heath); "Were not his eyes open at that time of day?" (Howell) and other slang expresssion are as old as "Paradise Lost."

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 229.

[2] When the Lords had rejected one of their bills, it was moved in the Commons that the majority of the latter should coalesce with the minority of the Lords, and thus form a preponderance. Godolphin remarked, "that the majority of the Lords might coalesce with the minority of the Commons, and so neutralize the former plan."

continued to increase with its exercise: the great ruling intellects of the House wielded bravely what they had bravely won, and in many respects there was what Baillie called "a most sweete unanimitie" between them and the Lords, — at least, Lords enough for their purpose. The militia, though not formally called out, was ordered everywhere to be in readiness; in many places the "trayne bands" were actually exercised.[1] Thus, provided with

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[1] I here insert the Ordinance, in which was assigned this royal authority; its terms and powers must be borne in mind.

"The ordinance of both Houses of Parliament for ordering the militia of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales" it was framed in February and ordained in March ensuing, to be a law whether the King should assent or no].* "Whereas there hath been of late a most dangerous and desperate design upon the House of Commons, which we have just cause to believe to be an effect of the bloodie counsels of Papists and other ill-affected persons who have already raised a rebellion in the kingdom of Ireland, and by reason of many discoveries, we cannot but fear they will proceed not onely to stir up the like rebellions and insurrections in this kingdom of England, but also to back them with forces from abroad;—It is ordained by the Lords and Commons, now in Parliament assembled, that * * * * * shall have power to assemble and call together all and singular his Majestie's subjects within the county of * * * as well within liberties as without, that are meet and fit for the wars, and them to train, exercise, and put in readiness, and them after their abilities and faculties well and sufficientlie, from time to time to cause to be arrayed and weaponed, and to take the muster of them in places most fit for that purpose; and shall have power within the said countie to nominate and appoint such persons of quality as to him shall seem meet, to be his deputie-lieutenants, to be approved of by both Houses of Parliament; and that any one or more of the said deputies so assigned and approved of, shall, in the absence or by command of the same * * *, have power and authoritie to do and execute within the countie * * * all such power and authoritie before

* Heath's "Chronicle," p. 29.

money, men, military stores, naval arsenals, the militia on shore, the fleets on the sea; with indubitably the most able minds in England to direct these vast means; possessing, moreover, as they asserted, the hearts of all the people, and the great City of London itself, they ought to be omnipotent.

We now return to the King, who, with his slender cavalcade has been travelling towards the north, to escape as far as possible from Parliament and its influences. His fugitive march presented a sad and striking contrast to his former magnificent "progress:" he was then attended by a gorgeous Court, with all its pomp and flattery, and many a servile follower, who was now cringing to the Parliament.

But the King was still strong in the loyalty of English nature, and the chivalrous sentiment

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in this present ordinance ordained, and so shall have power to make colonels and captains and other officers, and to remove out of their places, and to make others from time to time, as he shall think fit for that purpose; and his deputies, colonels, captains, and other officers, shall have further power and authoritie to lead, conduct, and employ the persons aforesaid arrayed and weaponed, as well within the countie of * * * as within any other part of this realme of England or dominion of Wales, for the suppression of all rebellions, insurrections, and invasions that may happen, according as they, from time to time, shall receive directions by his Majestie's authoritie, signified to them by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament: And it is further ordained, that such persons as shall not obey in any of the premises, shall answer their neglect *to the Lords and Commons* in a Parliamentary way, and not otherwise *nor elsewhere;* and that every the powers granted as aforesaid, shall continue until it shall be otherwise ordered or declared by both Houses of Parliament, and no longer.

"JOHN BROWN, Clerk, Parl."

awakened by his misfortunes. No sooner was his arrival at York made known, than almost every gentleman in the great northern county hastened to pay his honest court to his humbled sovereign. The sanguine spirit of the King instantly revived under this cheering testimony to the love his people still bore to his name: he found himself possessed of resources he had scarcely ventured to hope for. The aristocracy of the North had promptly and proudly raised itself up against the democracy of the South: the patriarchal sentiment was then strong amongst the tenants of the nobility and gentry; the delicate relations of reverence, and family and local associations, that we now too rarely find existing, were then strong, and gave great strength to their possessors: old feudal feelings were more permanent than feudal laws, and not only the numerous retainers and followers of great families, but whole districts, were moved as one man by the influence of their lord.[1] Thus, the great

[1] It is remarkable that the Commons first selected Peers to lead their forces; probably in deprecation of democratic aims. But, indeed, up to this time of stern trial, command seems to have been considered among the exclusive privileges of the aristocracy. It is curious, however, to find the people in the first exercise of their power selecting the Earls of Essex, Northumberland, and Warwick to direct that power *for* them. Thus when after hard contests the plebeians of Rome were allowed to be tribunes, they elected none but patricians. There is a vulgar worship of the titled great which in a revolution only gives way to a still more vulgar hatred of them. Doubtless those who are born to command do so with a better grace; if instead of those who are of gentle blood and gentle manners—to whom power is no novelty and therefore no plaything — pomp no novelty, and therefore no

families of Cavendish, Stanley, and Wentworth, drew after them, and truly represented, half the north. The presence of the King appeared to light a train already well prepared, a demonstration of loyalty blazed up which had been little calculated on by his enemies, or even by his friends. His own manner was become much more gracious, and there seems to be no exaggeration in the favourable influence attributed by Sir Philip Warwick to his actual presence and example. Already chastened by misfortune, rendered cautious by experience, and emancipated from the enervating influence of the Queen, his character began to assume a loftier tone. Sir Philip says, that "being arrived at York, and cheerfully entertained by all there, his eminent virtues, his rational knowledge, his temperate course of life, his just mind and pious soul, were so conspicuous, that he found a loyalty when he had nothing of majesty or power to attract any persons to him."

Not only, however, were the loyal people of the north "attracted" round him, but the greater number of both Houses of Parliament at length gathered to his Court.[1] Hyde, Falkland, and Cole-

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temptation;—if, instead of these, we were to have Chartists in the Executive, and Socialists in the Privy Council — ranter bishops and Billingsgate admirals—the populace would not be one whit more docile, or even popular sympathies more conciliated.

[1] Clarendon, in his "Life," where he says that there "was a great conflux to York," insomuch that there remained not in

pepper still remained in London, and messengers[1] were constantly passing between them and the King, and Parliament and its travelling committee.[2]

On the 26th of March, we hear that "the King's press is arrived, which is set to work to print his Majesty's answer to the Declaration at Newmarket. It is rumoured that the King will stay long in these parts; at least till St. George's day be past."[3] Some of the Liberal party, it would seem, proposed to petition the King to leave them, fearing that his presence would involve them in expense and danger. Thereupon the people assailed the petitioners, calling them Roundheads, and comparing them to the *Gadarenes*, who "desired Christ to depart out of their coasts."[4]

This notice of the printing-press is interesting: it was already accepted as the great engine of moral warfare. The King performed his momentous march without artillery, or any other force except this—the mightiest of all. By means of the press he

London a fifth part of the House of Commons, and of the Lords not twenty. P. 106, fol. ed. p. 66.

[1] In such furious haste did these men ride, that the letters dispatched by Hyde on Saturday night at twelve o'clock, were answered by the King at York, and the reply in Hyde's hands, by ten o'clock on Monday morning.—*Clarendon's Life*, p. 116.

[2] This committee now, as before, consisted of Lord Howard and Sir Philip Stapelton, but Hampden being wanted at head-quarters, had been replaced by Sir Hugh Cholmely: they reported to the Parliament the King's most secret actions, and they seem to have been on a social footing with the royal friends.—*Clarendon's Life*, p. 126.

[3] Mr. Stockdale's letter to Lord Fairfax.

[4] Fairfax Correspondence, ii. 390.

pleaded his cause to all England, to the world: the best reasons he had to shew, the most powerful appeal his cause admitted of, were thus presented to each man and woman—to each member of the great jury of his subjects who tried his cause at their own firesides. This press was busily and ably worked. Now that the King broke silence with his subjects, he had much to say to them, in explanation, refutation, and virtually in abjuration. Lord Clarendon asserts that "at *that time* [a remarkable expression] the king's resolution was to shelter himself wholly under the law, and to grant anything which by law he was obliged to grant." Before Charles had arrived at this resolution he had many a proud claim to forego, and many a despotic aspiration to abjure. He probably first learned the true nature of his sovereignty, from the same controversy that so much enlightened his people; by it were, for the first time, freely canvassed and defined, the origin and extent of royal prerogative, and parliamentary privilege. The same controversy gradually ascended to the first principles of social order, popular rights, and divine institutions; in those wide regions it lost its meaning. It was not only by Royal and Parliamentary messages, declarations, and replies that this controversy was maintained, but by innumerable pamphlets, journals, and sermons, that took the State papers for their texts.[1]

[1] Amongst these early writings were, "Mercurius Britannicus," (by Marchmont Needham, or "foul-mouthed Ned," as the

The King found his Court at York increasing daily; and, as favourable circumstances, like misfortunes, are gregarious, each exhibition of loyalty encouraged others.[1] Charles once more felt strong enough to be indiscreet: he sent to Lords Essex and Holland, to demand from them the surrender of their offices, the one as Chamberlain, the other as Groom of the Stole. The latter deprivation seemed natural enough, as Lord Holland had openly withdrawn himself from the Court to consort with its enemies; but the former was at least impolitic. Essex had not hitherto committed himself with the Parliament, and it was well known that whilst he held office under the King, his soldier-like nature would have disdained to do so, whatever the temptation.[2] This

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Royalists called him,) "M. Rusticus," "M. Pragmaticus," "M. Politicus," "M. Publicus," "M. Aulicus," by Dr. Heylin; "Diurnal Paper," "Diurnal Occurrences," "London Intelligencer," and at least seventy others: some ephemeral papers had very quaint and expressive titles; there were the "Scots Dove," and the "Secret Owl;" the "Weekly Discoverer," and its opposition journal, "The Discoverer stript naked;" "News for Hull," and "Truths from York," &c.—See *Forster's Statesmen*, ii. 275.

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 334.

[2] One of the most important defections from the Parliament was that of Lord-Keeper Littleton, who sent the great seal one day, and followed it the next. Such great importance was attached to this talismanic seal, that it was long before the people believed any instrument to be legal without its impression attached. At length the Parliament was obliged to make a great seal of its own. The King thereupon sent a Mr. Kniveton to remonstrate with the Parliament, and to forbid the Term to take place under the pseudo seal. The Parliament punished the messenger in proportion to the message, and had him *hanged as a spy* at the Royal Exchange on November 27, 1643.—*Heath's Chronicle*, p. 56.

and other dissuasive reasons were represented to his Majesty by Clarendon, Lord Keeper Littleton, and Lord Falkland; but in vain: "the King had promised the Queen that he would act thus," and her influence, though absent, thus gave to the Parliament the best general in England.

On hearing of this measure, the Parliament voted that "whosoever should accept of these offices should be reputed an enemy to his country." They next ordered that the Earl of Northumberland "should appoint the Earl of Warwick[1] his admiral for that

[1] Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick, was born 1587. He is spoken of in 1625 as commanding the militia to defend the coast of Essex, where his estates lay. The following summary of his life and character is drawn from Clarendon:—"He was looked upon [by the Puritans] as their greatest patron, because of much the greatest estate of all who favoured them, and so was esteemed by them with great application and veneration, though he was of a life very licentious, and unconformable to their professed rigour, which they rather dispensed with than they would withdraw from a house where they received so eminent a protection and such notable bounty." .... "The Earl of Warwick was of the King's Council, but was not wondered at for leaving the King, whom he had never well served, nor did he look upon himself as obliged by that honour, which he knew was conferred on him in the crowd of those whom his Majesty had no esteem of, or ever proposed to trust; so his business was to join with those to whom he owed his promotion. He was a man of a pleasant and companionable wit and conversation, of an universal jollity; and such a licence in his words and in his actions, that a man of less virtue could not be found: so that one might reasonably have believed that a man so qualified would not have been able to have contributed much to the overthrow of a nation and kingdom. But, with all these faults, he had great authority and credit with that people, who in the beginning of the troubles did all the mischief; and, by opening his doors and making his house the rendezvous of all the silenced ministers, at the time when there was an authority to silence them, and spending a good part of his estate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them; and by being present at their

year." This they did, in the first instance without any communication to the King; and afterwards, contrary to his express desire that Sir John Pennington should be continued in that office. At the same time a determined anti-royalist, named Batten, was appointed Vice-admiral, instead of Cartwright, who was a man much attached to the King, and of great reputation and influence among the seamen. Cartwright might have had this appointment but for an ill-considered intimation of the King's; that no person, well affected to his cause, should accept or occupy any office under Parliament. He thus weeded the Roundhead forces of all those who could have neutralized their interests, and done service to his own cause.

The next great move in the national game was made by the King who made an offer, on the 8th of April, to the Parliament, of going in person to Ireland, in order to suppress the rebellion there; he stated, at the same time, that, in order to spare his subjects, he would pawn or sell his own parks and palaces to

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devotions, and making himself merry with them, and at them, which they dispensed with, he became the head of that party and got the style of a godly man. When the King revoked the Earl of Northumberland's commission of admiral, he presently accepted the office from the Parliament, and never quitted their service; and when Cromwell disbanded that Parliament, he betook himself to the protection of the Protector, married his heir to his daughter, and lived in so entire a confidence and friendship with him, that when he died he had the honour to be exceedingly lamented by him. He left his estate, which before was subject to a vast debt, more improved and repaired than any man who trafficked in that desperate commodity of rebellion."

raise funds for the expedition. To this the Parliament anxiously and earnestly objected: they *felt* that such an enterprize would afford a dangerous opportunity of raising an army, and of quieting at least one kingdom. They *said* that they could not consent to his Majesty's risking his person, and interrupting the business of the country. After this proposition, and its rejection, had done their intended work, there was some farther discussion on the old matter of the militia, and then the first decided step towards war was taken—and by the King.

The town of Hull was the most important place in the kingdom, next to London (and, perhaps, Bristol); it was the great seaport of the north, where supplies could be received from the Continent with the greatest convenience and security. But the chief importance of the place consisted in the magazine of arms and ammunition that it contained. Of this the Parliament had determined to possess themselves, and Sir John Hotham had already received an order to deliver it to Lord Warwick. He was on his way with the fleet to receive the military stores, and transport them to the Tower. The King was equally determined to recover what he conceived to be "his own property" in the strictest sense of the word, for it had been purchased, not by Parliamentary grants, but by private contributions to him from the clergy, courtiers and others, for the Scottish war. When it was known at York that

the Parliamentary fleet was preparing for Hull, not only the King but the northern gentry felt themselves aggrieved,[1] and Sir Francis Wortley, Sir W. Wentworth and other Cavaliers, petitioned the King that he would take measures "for the better security of the magazine, and of those northern parts."

The King availed himself of this petition, and at once endeavoured to comply with it; so little hostility was then declared that he sent his son, the Duke of York, and the Elector Palatine[2] on a visit to Hotham, the day previous to his own arrival. They arrived there under a pretence of seeing the town, and were entertained by the Governor without any apparent expectation of the visit that was to follow. For once, the King had kept his council, or had only communicated it to those who were trustworthy. On the following day, the 23rd of April, the King set forth from York, attended by about three hundred gentlemen of the county, and other cavaliers, with their servants:"[3] at eleven o'clock he was at the Beverley Gate. All was confusion within; Sir John Hotham had no definite orders

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[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 382.

[2] *Not* Prince Rupert, as Lord Nugent, following Heath's "Chronicle," states. *See* Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 382, and p. 109 of this volume. Had Rupert been there instead of Charles Louis, the result would probably have been very different: the hesitating garrison only wanted one man of energy to turn them to the King.

[3] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 383. Servants is a vague word, but if interpreted trooper, it would not be far wrong.

from Parliament in case of such an emergency, and had only his instinctive knowledge of their designs to guide him in his conduct. Habit and former feelings induced him to listen to the King's demand; fear of the Parliament held him back. Whilst he hesitated, the Mayor and other officers of the town moved towards the gates to admit their sovereign. Sir John was then decided; he ordered the citizens to retire, and summoned courage to ascend the ramparts and hold parley with the King. Charles was waiting patiently below, receiving the first lesson of actual rebellion from this hostile town, whose gates were barred, its drawbridge raised, and its walls manned as if against an enemy. The King demanded admittance in person into his town of Hull. The Governor fell on his knees, and, "with agony," entreated to be excused, pleading his oath to Parliament, and at the same time calling "God to witness that he was his Majesty's most faithful and loyal subject."[1] The Cavaliers of the King's company, raised a shout of execration against the "traitor." "Kill him!" they cried to the officers who accompanied him; "fling the traitor down here to us, and have done with him!" But those officers had goaded on Sir John to resistance, and they now only advised him to retire from his

[1] In any other time this epithet would seem absurd under the circumstances, but in this peculiar war, the people were always called upon in the name "of the King and Parliament," to oppose or to destroy the King.

trying position. During the next two hours, many messages passed between the King and the Governor: the Duke of York and the Prince Palatine took advantage of the temporary loyalty that was professed in the negotiations, and left the town. Some more vain messages ensued. The King formally proclaimed Sir John a traitor, and retired, indignant and discomfited, but not disheartened, to the town of Beverley.[1]

"There a large body of gentlemen met him with a tender of their utmost services," and escorted him, on the following day, to York. The fate of the nation was now decided: the war had begun. The King, indeed, made a formal communication to the Parliament, accusing Sir John Hotham as a traitor. The Parliament replied (at first only to the people) by declaring that Sir John Hotham had done nothing but his duty, and that to proclaim him a traitor was a high "breach of privilege:" they complained also that the King's soldiers had intercepted a letter to the Houses from Hull (making, at the same time, an accusation against the King of matters contained in a letter intercepted *by them* from Lord Digby, long before): they announced also that they had given orders to the sheriffs and others to suppress all forces that should be gathered together or raised in

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 384, and appendix L; Rushworth, i. 367; Parl. Hist. ii. col. 1197 (for Hotham's letter to the Parliament); Guizot's Rev. i. 238; Heath, p. 36.

the counties of York or Lincoln. A committee from Parliament brought this declaration to the King, after it had reached him through the public prints; and this committee continued not only to reside in York, but to frequent the King's presence for a month afterwards. This circumstance presents us with a curious aspect of peace striving to preserve its decent appearances in the very midst of hostilities. The King had plainly told his unwelcome visitors that "he liked not such supervisors near him;"[1] but they replied, "with a sullen confidence," that they would stay and do the bidding of the Parliament. The Court felt itself obliged to tolerate their presence and their espionage.

The whole nation was now thoroughly roused, and sought more eagerly than ever for the publications, which were as eagerly pressed on its attention by each of the great discordant parties. It is remarkable that in these constant and stirring appeals to the people, the writers, preachers and orators never attempted to inculcate, like the French revolutionists, any *new* doctrines. They knew that the affections of the English people clung fondly and faithfully to their Past; it was ever in the name of the law—of the constitution—that the most opposite parties sought to canvass their hearers for the most opposite undertakings. On the one side, the reforming part of the nation saw nothing very fear-

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[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 403.

ful in the name of war; they had never had any experience of its horrors, and they dwelt with pride on the memories of ancient strife, that had won for them their ancient liberties: they and their leaders thought that one great battle would decide the question. On the other side, it was felt that nothing but a war could repress the "overweening insolency," and extravagant claims of the Parliament, who, from the hour they had proclaimed themselves indissoluble, exercised an authority as arbitrary and intemperate as the King had ever done. Both parties set about their warfare with a grave and stern determination, that was very national, and strengthened by religious feeling. Each thought they fought not only for their country but their God.

Every day the people of England and their representatives now ranged themselves more definitely in the ranks of the King or of his opponents. The Parliament in London shrank to dimensions that were at once more wieldy and more powerful. All the Cavaliers were gone to the King, or to their own estates, to prepare their servants for his service: all the doubting and neutral men, who waited for circumstances to decide their consciences, had withdrawn into retirement. A few of the most sterling patriots, such as Sir Benjamin Rudyard, remained fearlessly at their posts in Parliament; faithful to a sense of duty that soared above all party feelings.

The preparations for war kept pace with the rapid progress of political events. The Parliamentary fleet, under Lord Warwick, had transported all the arms from Hull to the Tower. On the 10th of May the train-bands of London were mustered, under General Skippon, in Finsbury Square, where a great banquet was given by the City to the members of both Houses of Parliament: and, finally, orders were sent to *their* lord-lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties, to seize on all magazines in their chief towns, and to "provide all well-affected persons with such arms as they might require for the service of their country."

Even the King now saw the storm approaching, and felt that the time was come when appearances and statecraft must be laid aside for realities and action. For these last, strange to say, he was far better qualified than for the former, to which he had sacrificed so much of his life and honour. He now displayed energy, activity, and resolution. A troop of horse, called the Prince of Wales's, was immediately raised; it consisted entirely of volunteer gentlemen. A regiment of trained-bands, amounting to about six hundred men, was appointed for the King's guard, and paid regularly every Saturday, even when the King had not sufficient to defray the expenses of his own table. On hearing of this guard, the Parliament declared it to be a "levying of war, and a *breach of trust* against his people:" on the 23rd of May they sent a petition,

beseeching him to disband such forces as evil counsellors had persuaded him to raise.

In proportion as the crisis approaches, the speeches and petitions of the Parliament, and the declarations and replies of the King become more verbose. These elaborate compositions, every word of which was eagerly dwelt upon and earnestly investigated then, are wholly without interest now. We must follow our Cavaliers in their deeds, not their words. On the 1st of June the royal Commission of Array was published in Yorkshire; and on the same day the Nineteen Propositions of the Parliament were published in London, and transmitted to the King. These are both very remarkable documents: the former displays a manly, temperate, but firm and soldier-like spirit: the latter will ever remain a monument of the over-reaching nature of the Parliamentary demands: demands which they well knew could never be complied with, and which at once display their unreasonableness, and the strength of party that they could calculate with confidence upon. This ultimation is subjoined.[1]

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[1] 1. That all the King's Privy Council, Great Officers, and Ministers of State may be put out, excepting such as the Parliament shall approve, and to assign them an oath.

2. That all affairs of State be managed by the Parliament, except such matters as are transferred by them to the Privy Council, and to be conducted by the major part of them under their hands; the full number not to exceed five-and-twenty, nor under fifteen; and if any place fall vacant in the interval of Parliament, then the major part of the Council to choose one, to be confirmed at the next session of Parliament.

The Parliamentary leaders had now triumphed beyond their highest hopes, and far beyond what was good for them, either as reformers or as

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3. That all the Great Officers of the kingdom shall be chosen with the approbation of Parliament, &c. as before said.

4. That the government and the education of the King's children be directed by Parliament, &c. *ut supra.*

5. Their marriages to be treated and conducted by Parliament, &c.

6. That the laws against Papists, priests, and others be executed without toleration or dispensation, except by Parliament.

7. No Papish lord or peer to have vote in Parliament, and their children to be educated in the Protestant faith.

8. To reform Church-government, and as the Parliament shall advise.

9. To settle the Militia, as the Parliament hath ordered, and the King to recall all his Declarations publisht against their Ordinances therein.

10. All Privy Councillors and Judges to take the oaths for maintenance of the Petition of Right, and other statutes which shall be made this Parliament: so to swear in present unto things in future.

11. All officers placed by Parliament to hold their places, *quamdiu benè se gesserint.*

12. All Members of Parliament put out during this time are to be restored again.

13. The justice of Parliament to pass upon all delinquents, and they to appear or abide their censure.

14. The general pardon to pass with exceptions, as the Parliament shall advise.

15. All forts and castles of the kingdom to be disposed of by Parliament, *ut supra.*

16. The King to discharge all his guards and forces now in being, and not to raise any other but in case of actual rebellion.

17. The King to enter into a strict alliance with all Reformed States, for their assistance to recover the rights of his Royal Sister, and her princely issue to those dignities and dominions which belong unto them.

18. To clear the Lord Kimbolton and the Five Members by act of Parliament.

19. No Peer hereafter to be made shall sit in Parliament without their consent.

men.[1] Having put forth violent strength against an obstacle that unexpectedly gave way, they were precipitated into a false position, from which they never extricated themselves until a republic was confessed. They had virtually dethroned the King, and many honest persons thought that his abuse of power and want of faith had justly incurred that penalty: few thinking men, however, could reconcile the Parliamentary actions with their perpetual profession of devotion for the King's person and his honour.[2] The Reformers had been gradually led into falsehood, sophistry, and exaggeration. No longer the voice of England spoke through their counsels; they had degenerated into a mere club—the great cause they had pleaded, into a party question. They

[1] Lord Spencer and Lord Paget, who had been appointed lords-lieutenants of Northamptonshire and Buckingham by the Parliament, now left them, "in fear or detestation of their future designs" to which they had been made privy. These noblemen hastened to the King at York, confessed all they knew, received pardon, and served the royal cause faithfully thenceforth.* It is to be remembered that the King was formerly persuaded that the Parliamentary leaders meditated the most extreme measures (short of death) towards him, and, without that reservation, towards all his friends.

[2] M. Guizot, ("Révolution d'Angleterre,") who discusses, *con amore*, the Reformers' question: dissecting, with a hand and head deeply skilled in revolutionary tactics, every phase of popular feeling and passion. "Dans cet état," he says, "des esprits, la situation morale du Parlement était fausse, car c'était par lui et à son profit que s'accomplissait la révolution; contraint de la faire et de la nier à la fois, ses actes et sa langage se démentaient tour à tour, et il flottait peniblement entre l'audace et la subtilité, la violence et l'hypocrisie."—Tom. ii. p. 233.

* Clarendon's Rebel. iii. 65.

had already imitated the worst acts of kingly despotism and intolerance:[1] and after declaring themselves indissoluble, they had voted themselves an allowance of 4*l.* per week for "their subsistence." Nevertheless, this faction was still supported by great masses of the people; the better part of whom were grateful for the great things the Parliament had done, and as yet believed that those who had done so well could do no evil; the worse part rejoiced, like the *canaille* of all times and nations, at any change that broke up the old game of life, and called for a new deal. If Charles the First, and most of his ministers, and many of his bishops, had acted very weakly and wickedly, *they* had still left sufficient virtue in the old laws of the land to bring themselves to justice, and to enable the nation to defend itself. But, when the Parliament and Cromwell unchained the elements of anarchy and committed tyranny against the people, who dared to call *them* to account? What champion had the people then —their old and venerable Law being replaced by the passionate "ordinance," or "the military order" of the hour?

From the period of their first aberration from pure and perfect truthfulness,—from disinterested and dispassionate public duty, the reign of cant began,—political, sentimental, and religious cant. Not that Hampden was a hypocrite, or that Pym

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1 See Hallam, Const. Hist. i. 551.

was necessarily profane in using the Scriptural language he so much delighted in; but their government, based upon the passions of the people, was obliged to gratify those passions, at first in words, and afterwards in deeds that their nobler natures would individually have condemned. This is the great danger of an oligarchy; that having no personality, the leading virtue of each member may be lost to its collective capacity, and the whole appear devoid of that which dignifies or redeems each part.[1] The one, or two, or three men of greater energy inevitably, though unconfessedly, dictate to their colleagues, who only add by their numbers an ostensible but unreal authority to the resolutions of the former. The Long Parliament acquired and maintained its vast power through the eloquence and practical agency of about a dozen men; the rest were contented to furnish their contingent authority and votes, for the sake of the reflected glory that shone on them from their great leaders. It may be said that allowances must be made for the human failings of these men: I have not learned that any such allowances were made by them for King Charles whilst he lived, nor should they be by us now that he and they are dead; otherwise we

[1] "It may be said, I think, with not greater severity than truth, that scarce two or three public acts of justice, humanity, or generosity, and very few of political wisdom or courage, are recorded of them, from their quarrel with the King, to their expulsion by Cromwell."—*Hallam, Constitutional History*, i. 562.

read history in vain, and only learn how large allowances we might arrogate under the same circumstances for ourselves.[1]

At this time (June 1st) many members, as I have mentioned, seceded from the Houses of Parliament, and of these the greater part betook themselves to the Court of York.[2] But, while they shrank from the impetuous measures of the Commons, they were by no means prepared to adopt unreservedly the royal cause. Having once presented themselves to the King, and made a great merit of doing so, many of them endeavoured to remain neutral, half dissenting from every measure of the Court, and still, apparently, under the spell of the great council at Westminster.[3] These lukewarm waverers were more useful to the Roundheads at York than they would have been at Westminster; cushioning every energetic measure of the King's, and acting at the same time as conductors of the Parliamentary influences

[1] Mr. Hallam, whose noble impartiality has invested his great work with all the authority of judicial dictum, says of the Parliament's present position, that, "After every allowance has been made, he must bring very heated passions to the records of those times, who does not perceive in the conduct of that body a series of glaring violations, not only of positive and constitutional, but of those higher principles which are paramount to all policy?"—*Const. Hist*, i. 551.

[2] The House of Lords consisted of only seventy-four members, of these forty were at York; sixty-five members of the House of Commons were also at the northern metropolis.

[3] Charles asked them for a declaration of their motives in leaving London, in order to prove that the remaining Parliament was no longer lawful: they signed this declaration, but withdrew their consent next day, "being most passionate against its publishing."—*Clarendon's Rebellion*, iii. 69.

against the Crown. The King was now sincerely, because interestedly anxious to base all his measures upon law, and the counsel of its interpreters; the judges, the magistracy, and that section of the Parliament which adhered to him. These were all men who could not, or would not, separate the King's interest from their own; they counselled only passive measures, and advised that the Parliament should be left to take the initiative in every aggressive movement. On the other hand, the Cavaliers looked upon the matter in a more military point of view; they denounced delay as ruinous, and insisted that it was absolutely necessary to be beforehand with their enemies. The unhappy King was alternately convinced of the truth and error of each argument, and could not afford to dispense with either party of his advisers: he took that middle course which never yet led its follower to honour or success.

Thus, when Charles found that, so far from being likely to obtain possession of Hull, that town was more likely to get possession of him, he felt that embodying the guard I have mentioned was justified by the danger incident to his undefended state. He was anxious, however, to have the nominal countenance of the People in this measure, and to that effect he summoned a meeting of such gentlemen as he knew were most favourable to his views.[1] They

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. The Parliamentary committee was enjoined not to attend, and they obeyed; but the leaders

met, (on the 15th May, 1642,)[1] with loud and vehement demonstrations of loyalty; shouting praises on the King, and execration on the Parliament, more especially on that part of it acting as a Roundhead committee at York. This was but a brief and delusive triumph for the King, a deceitful gleam of sunshine, that brought on the storm. No sooner was the meeting announced than Sir Thomas Fairfax, and some other gentlemen of the Parliamentary party, set themselves energetically to work to counteract its object: riding post through the country, they stirred up the non-summoned freeholders and farmers to avenge the slight at once to themselves, and to the Parliament, by attending uninvited. The yeomen answered the call by thousands, filling the square in front of the hall where the Royalists were assembled, and exclaiming that they had as good a right as the gentlemen to be consulted on the affairs of their country. The King strove to parley with his unwelcome visitors, assured them that no slight was meant, and requested them to meet him on the 3rd of June on Heyworth Moor.

That day arrived, and with it from eighty to one hundred thousand men: "The like appearance was never seen in Yorkshire." No shouts of loyalty arose from that vast assemblage; they looked upon their King as an invader, and only desired his

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of the meeting went backwards and forwards to them constantly, for direction and advice.

[1] May's Hist. of the Parl. iii. 532, &c.

departure from amongst them. The King was there, however; surrounded by a strong party of Cavaliers, and many a man besides, who would have died for him, though he would have scorned to bend under his former despotic rule. There was no movement to meet his Majesty; there was no great gathered mass even to receive his address; there was evidently something more interesting on the people's mind. Some gathered together in groups; others hastily dispersed themselves over the Moor, to converse with, and to rally friends. At length it was discovered that a petition was in circulation, beseeching the King to come to a good understanding with his Parliament, and this, in reply to his appeal to them to arm in his cause.[1] The Cavaliers, without further provocation, rushed amongst the crowd, and tore the petition from the hands of those who read or signed. Lord Savile "rode at" Sir John Bouchier, and forced him to give up a copy that he held in his hand.[2] Charles, in the meantime, found some difficulty in obtaining sufficient attention to deliver a long and elaborate address, assuring the people of many things, but committing himself to none. Having hastily concluded, he turned his horse in order to escape from the presence of his Roundhead audience, and to avoid any chance of

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. M. Guizot, ii. 241, who only estimates the meeting at 40,000 men. Fairfax Cor. ii. 407. Nugent's Hampden. Parl. Hist. ii. 1348–53.

[2] See Sir John's letter, Parl. Hist. ii. 1353.

receiving their petition. Young Fairfax,[1] however, pressed courageously through the royal guard, and reaching the King, forced the petition on his notice. The King turned away, but Sir Thomas laid his charge on his saddle bow, and, in doing so, was nearly ridden over by the insulted and angry monarch.[2]

While Charles was thus assailed by petitions for peace with Parliament, on its own terms, in the north; the Parliament was similarly besieged with petitions for a peace with the King, from the south. The counties of Kent and Somerset, especially, put forward their unwelcome opinions on this matter; but the Commons refused to hearken to, or even to receive or notice such petitions.[3] "Their voice [and preparations, too] were still for war."

The King now made a formal Declaration to his supporters at York, defining the cause for which he held them to be engaged, and limiting their service to the support of the lawful institutions of their country.[4]

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[1] Afterwards Sir Thomas Shand Fairfax.
[2] Carte, Life of Ormond, i. 327. Fairfax Cor.
[3] Parl. Hist. ii. 1366.
[4] It ran as follows:

THE KING'S DECLARATION AT YORK.*

"We do declare, that we will require no obedience from you but what is warranted by the known laws, as we expect that you

* Made public on the 13th of June, 1642. (From Warwick's Memoirs, p. 210.)

The Parliament, it is to be observed, had made their levies of troops extensively and without disguise, appointing the 10th of June as their day of

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should not yield unto any commands not legally grounded or imposed by any other. We will defend you all, and all such, as shall refuse any such commands, whether they proceed from any votes and orders of both Houses, or any other way, from all danger whatsoever. We will defend the true Protestant religion established by the laws, the lawful liberties of the subjects of England, and the just privileges of all the three Estates of Parliament; and shall require no further obedience from you than as we accordingly shall perform the same. And we will not (as is falsely pretended) engage you in any war against the Parliament; except it be for our necessary defence against such as do insolently invade or attempt against us and our adherents.

(Signed) "CHARLES R."

In reply to this declaration, the following engagement was signed by the Peers and Privy Council, and afterwards by many others:

ENGAGEMENT BY THE PEERS AND OTHERS ASSEMBLED IN THE CAUSE OF THE KING AT YORK.

"We do engage ourselves not to obey any orders or commands whatsoever not warranted by the known laws of the land. We engage ourselves to defend your Majesty's person, crown, and dignity, with your just and legal prerogatives, against all persons and power whatsoever. We will defend the true Protestant religion established by the laws of the land, the lawful liberties of the subjects of England, and the just privileges of your Majesty and both Houses of Parliament. Lastly, we engage ourselves not to obey any rule, order, or ordinance whatsoever concerning the Militia that hath not the royal assent."

The following is a list of the subscribers: * in their biographies, with some few exceptions, would be comprised the best history of the true Cavalier.

Lord Littleton, Lord-keeper.	Earl of Cumberland.
Duke of Richmond.	Earl of Salisbury.†

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* Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. Appendix A. referred to in p. 71.

† "But," adds Sir P. Warwick, "Salisbury stole away a few days after to London."

muster.[1] Lord Clarendon draws attention to this fact, as proof that the Parliament first took up arms; the King's guard at York not being to be considered in any other light than protective. There was still much money required to fit out the Roundhead troopers,[2] and the Parliament appealed at once to the sympathies and the speculation of their City friends. They published a proclamation, inviting all "well-affected" persons to bring their plate and money to Guildhall, for the use of Parliament; engaging to pay 8 per cent. interest on the money, and that the plate, &c., should be liberally valued, and the same interest allowed upon the valuation."[3]

Earl of Bristol.
Earl of Monmouth.
Earl of Newport.
Lord Howard of Charlton.
Lord Rich.
Lord Dunsmore.
Earl of Bath.
Earl of Northampton.
Earl of Clare.
Earl of Rivers.
Lord Mowbray and Matna.
Lord Newark.
Lord Savil.
Lord Seymour.
Marquis of Hertford.
Earl of Southampton.
Earl of Devonshire.
Lord Falkland, (Secretary.)
Earl of Westmoreland.
Earl of Dover.
Lord Willoughby of Eresby.
Lord Paulett.
Lord Mohun.
Lord Capell.
Earl of Lindsey.
Earl of Dorset.
Earl of Cambridge.
Earl of Berkshire.
Earl of Carnarvon.
Lord Grey of Ruthen.
Lord Lovelace.
Lord Coventry.
Secretary Nicholas.
Lord-chief-justice Bankes.
Sir P. Wich, Controller.
Sir John Culpepper, C. Exch.

1 Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 60.

2 The infantry were of small expense, being for the most part already armed as "train-bands."

3 "This money was borrowed (and the sum to which it amounted is almost incredible) upon the credit of the PUBLIQUE FAITH, by an ordinance of Parliament, a name much adored then,

If there are sometimes strange panics in the money-market, there are also still more unaccountable contrasts, for which there is no name: South Sea Bubbles, Lotteries, Railways, and other stimulants to stagnant wealth; but none of these ever produced such an effect—because none were ever backed by the excitement of party and religious zeal—as this proclamation of the Parliament. The streets became choked with crowds hurrying to the Roundhead receiving-office. Capacious as were the apartments destined to contain the spoil, they were soon glutted: sufficient men could not be found to receive the deposits, and many were obliged to return repeatedly to the hall before they could disengage themselves of their wealth. Not only bullion, plate, and jewels were poured in on the astonished collectors, but the sole wealth of the poorest, especially amongst the women—marriage-rings, thimbles, silver hair-pins, ear-rings; every one wished to identify themselves with the cause.[1] The golden calf of Aaron never received contributions more various and profuse.[2] Whatever temporal return the citi-

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and as much contemned and hated afterwards."—*Heath's Chronicle*, 37.

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, ii. 60. May, Hist. Parl. ii. 196. Guizot, Revolut. ii. 240.

[2] "Fuller, (the preacher,) knowing there was no living where the Presbyterian calf was not worshipped, deserted London."—*Wynstanley* (in his Life of Fuller). If the reader thinks this enthusiasm was altogether inspired by an elevated sense of patriotism, he will probably as much err on one side, as he would err on the other, if he supposed it all arose from sordid feelings.

zens expected for their money and their goods, which were taken as coin, no doubt it was considered very secondary to the triumphant sense of helping the "good cause," and promoting the object nearest to their hearts. Violent declamations in Parliament; eager and vehement appeals from the pulpit, and an amazing outpouring of pamphlet eloquence,[1] sustained this enthusiastic liberality.

Charles immediately attempted to follow this example; but the imitation was far from successful; so Loyal Oxford, however, at the first requisition, sent all her plate, and Cambridge attempted to do so some time afterwards.[2] Many, also, of the gentry of the north sent their plate, with such contributions of money as they could, or could not afford. All this, however, and all other means of raising money, scarcely sufficed to pay the King's small guard and the expenses of his table. The Queen had not yet been able to transmit any of the money she had raised in Holland, so vigilant were the Parliamentary restraints upon her movements.[3]

A few months later these very citizens were clamouring for Pym's death.

[1] "Acres of typography thrillingly alive in every fibre of them."—*Carlyle, Cromwell*, i. 152.

[2] Aug. 15, but was anticipated by Cromwell, who made plunder of it, "to the value of 20,000*l.* or thereabouts."—*Carlyle*, i. 154.

[3] We have no estimate, I believe, of what these jewels were worth in money to the King, but they must have been of great value. Charles seems to have had a passion for gems in his more prosperous days. In the *Athenæum*, No. 573, there is a formidable list of expenses incurred by him for jewellery,—

It is difficult to fill up the time, between this and the 22nd of August, by any connected details of action, so minute and numerous were the yet isolated events. Words there were in plenty, but I cannot attempt to introduce the voluminous controversy[1] into these already crowded pages. Nevertheless, it is well that the men of the time should speak for themselves, and I gladly offer the two following speeches delivered in Parliament instead of any further comment of my own. The first was spoken by Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Surveyor of his Majesty's Court of Ward and Liveries: yet, on the opening of the Session, he had been the first to denounce the crimes of the Court party, and to expatiate, in his own manly and vigorous style, upon the wrongs of the long-suffering people. He was a type of what an English senator of that, or any

50,000*l.* worth, or thereabouts, in eighteen months! The greater part of this was for gifts, however. See Forster's Statesmen, iv. 77. Howell tells us, in one of his "Letters" (p. 86), that "Queen Anne hath left a world of brave jewels behind; and though one Piers, an outlandish man, hath run away with many, she has left all to the Prince (Charles the First), and none to the Queen of Bohemia." It seems from Evelyn (v. 28), that "a great collar of rubies" had been disposed of in Holland for the King's necessities so early as 10th September, 1641. The Queen raised, Miss Strickland informs us, 2,000,000*l.* in one year: but the jewels only sold or were pledged for 253,000 guilders (nearly the same as florins); their "High Mightinesses at Rotterdam" lent her 40,000, and their bank 25,000 florins, the Bank of Amsterdam lent 845,000, and two English merchants at the Hague 166,000. All this only amounts to 1,329,000, guilders, or about 106,000*l.*

[1] "Those [publications] on the King's side were temperate and constitutional, and as superior to those on the opposite side in argument as they were in eloquence."—*Hallam, Const. Hist.*

other age, should be; calm, wise, dispassionate, benevolent; possessed of a lofty sense of courage and honour that never required exhibition, and that never suffered doubt. Thus he spake on the 9th of July 1642, and his words are well worthy to be laid to heart after two hundred years.

MR. SPEAKER,

IN the way we are, we have gone as far as words can carry us: we have voted our own rights, and the King's duty. No doubt there is a relative duty between a king and his subjects; obedience from a subject to a king, protection from a king to his people. The present unhappy distance between his Majesty and the Parliament makes the whole kingdom stand amazed, in a fearful expectation of dismal calamities to fall upon it. It deeply and conscionably concerns this House to compose and settle these threatening, ruining distractions. Mr. Speaker, I am touched, I am pierced with an apprehension of the honour of the House, and success of this Parliament. The best way to give a stop to these desperate imminent mischiefs is, to make a fair way, for the King's return hither, it will likewise give best satisfaction to the people, and *will be our best justification.* Mr. Speaker, that we may better consider the condition we are now in, let us set ourselves three years back. If any man then could have credibly told us that, within three years, the Queen shall be gone out of England into the Low Countries for any cause whatsoever; the King shall remove from his Parliament, from London to York, declaring himself not to be safe here; that there shall be a total rebellion in Ireland, such discords and *distempers both in Church and State* here, as *now* we find; certainly we should have trembled at the thought of it: wherefore it is fit we should be sensible now we are in it. On the other side, if a man then could

have credibly told us that within three years ye shall have a Parliament, it would have been good news; that ship-money shall be taken away by an Act of Parliament, the reasons and grounds of it so rooted out, as that neither it, nor anything like it, can ever grow up again; that monopolies, the High-Commission Courts, the Star Chamber, the bishops' votes, shall be taken away; the council-table regulated and restrained, the forests bounded and limited; that ye shall have a triennial Parliament, and, more than that, a perpetual Parliament, which none shall have power to dissolve without yourselves, we should have thought this a dream of happiness: *yet, now we are in the real possession of it, we do not enjoy it,* although his majesty hath promised and published he will make all this good to us. We stand chiefly upon further security, *whereas the very having these things* is a convenient, fair security, mutually securing one another; there is more security offered even in this last answer of the King's, by removing the personal votes of popish lords, and by the better education of papists' children, by supplying the defects of laws against recusants, besides what else may be enlarged and improved by a select committee of both Houses, named for that purpose. Wherefore, sir, let us beware we do not contend for such a hazardous, unsafe security, as may endanger the loss of what we have already; let us not think we have nothing, because we have not all we desire, and *though we had, yet we cannot make a mathematical security.* All human caution is susceptible of corruption and failing. God's providence will not be bound: success must be his. He that observes the wind and rain shall neither sow nor reap; if he do nothing till he can secure the weather, he will have but an ill harvest. Mr. Speaker, it now behoves us to call up all the wisdom we have about us, for we are at the very brink of combustion and confusion. *If blood once begin to touch blood,* we shall presently fall into a certain

misery, and must attend an uncertain success, *God knows when, and God knows what.* Every man here is bound in conscience to employ his uttermost endeavours to prevent the effusion of blood. Blood is a crying sin; it pollutes a land. Let us save our liberties and our estates, as we may save our souls too. Now I have clearly delivered mine own conscience, I leave every man freely to his.[1]

These were bold words to utter in such a Parliament, and their purport was thus taken up by Whitelock[2] in a higher, and too truly prophetic strain. After some prefatory remarks, he solemnly proceeds to affirm that,—

"God blessed us with a long and flourishing peace, and we turned his grace into wantonness, and peace would not satisfy us without luxury, nor our plenty without debauchery; instead of sobriety and thankfulness for our mercies, we provoked the Giver of them by our sins and wickedness to punish us, as we may fear, by a civil war, to make us executioners of Divine vengeance on ourselves.

"It is strange to note how we have insensibly slid into this beginning of a civil war, by one unexpected accident following after another, as waves of the sea, which have

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[1] Harleian Miscellany, vol. v. p. 216.

[2] Bulstrode Whitelock: he held fast to the Parliament notwithstanding the above speech; he was one of the Commissioners to treat with the King at Oxford, and afterwards at Uxbridge. He was ambassador to Sweden under Cromwell, and Keeper of the Great Seal under the Committee of Public Safety. The following quaint epitaph rather jars with the speech as given above, but it is too characteristic to omit.

"To limn thy merits, and heroick meedes
Illustrious Whitlock! is a task that needes
A nobler draught, for who dares be so bold
To cut in brass what should be graved in gold?
Or with one poor hexastick raise the columnes
Of his vast merit which deserveth volumnes."

brought us to this point. But what may be the progress of it, the poet tells you:—

> 'Jusque datum sceleri canimus, populumque potentem
> In sua victrici conversum viscera dextrâ.'

We must surrender up our lives into the hands of insolent mercenaries, whose rage and violence will command us and all we have; and reason, honour, and justice will quit our land. *The ignoble will rule the noble;* baseness will be preferred before virtue, profaneness before piety. Of a potent people we shall make ourselves weak, and be the instruments of our own ruin; we *shall burn our own houses, lay waste our own fields, pillage our own goods, open our own veins, devour our own bowels.* You will hear other sounds besides those of drums and trumpets [that now only pleasure you], the clattering of armour, the roaring of guns, the groans of wounded and dying men, the shrieks of deflowered women, the cries of widows and orphans; and all *on your account,* and which makes it to be the most lamented. Pardon the warmth of my expressions; I would prevent a flame which I see kindled in the midst of us that may consume us to ashes.

"The sum of the progress of civil war is the rage of fire and sword, and (which is worse) of brutish men. What the issue of it will be no man alive can tell; probably few of us now here may live to see the end of it. It has been said, 'He that draws his sword against his prince, must throw away the scabbard.' Those differences are scarce to be reconciled. Those commotions are like the deep seas, being once stirred, they are not soon appeased. I wish the observation of the Duke de Rohan may prove a caution and not a prophecy. He saith of England, that it is 'a great creature, which cannot be destroyed but by its own hand.' And there is not a more likely hand than that of civil war to do it. The best issue that can be expected of a civil war is, '*Ubi victor flet, et victus perit;*'

which of these will be our portion is uncertain, and the choice should be avoided," &c.

These pathetic speeches availed nothing: still less the brave and defiant reply of Sir Henry Killigrew, who, when called upon to declare his views of adherence to the "Good Cause," spoke out boldly thus:—"When I see occasion, I will provide a good horse, a good buff coat, and a good pair of pistols, and then I make no question but I shall find a "good Cause." (And straightway this bold Cavalier found it necessary for his safety to act as he had spoken: he took horse for his native Cornwall, and was among the first to declare there for the King.) Forty-five members[1] voted with the peace-makers, one hundred and twenty-five voted for war. One member after another rose, and swore to "live and die" with their general, and to raise and maintain such and such a number of men and horse, according to their ability or zeal. One hundred thousand pounds was voted to be raised by loan from the City (already heavily involved in the Parliament's securities), and one hundred thousand pounds more was diverted from the Irish army, and ordered to be applied in equipping forces for the Lord General Essex's new army. A levy of ten thousand volunteers was to be made in London, and the counties

[1] To these should be added the sixty-five members at York and others; yet this Parliament was elected in all the anger of 1640. Strange to say, in the Lords, even such as were left, the Earl of Portland alone protested against the war-vote of the Commons.

again received orders, through their representatives, or lord-lieutenants, to arm, and be ready at the first signal. Five Peers, and Ten commoners had already (on the 4th of July) been appointed to act as a Committee of Public Safety; a title of terrible irony in modern days, and even then not free from the same mockery. The following oligarchy, under that name, ruled the Roundhead part of England for the future: Northumberland, Essex, Pembroke,[1] Holland, and Say, of the Peers; Hampden,

[1] Lords Northumberland, Essex, and Holland, have been spoken of before in these pages; Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, is thus described by Rowland White, in a letter of 1620: —"The young worthy Sir Philip grows great in his Majesty's (James I.) favor and carries it without envy; for he is very humble to the great lords; is desirous to do all men good and hurts no man." So far his real character was dissembled; there are, indeed, few men of whom so many instances of "brutal intemperance," united with craven puerility are recorded. Nevertheless he was the recipient of many honours from King Charles, who, however, took occasion from his violent conduct in the House of Peers towards Lord Mowbray to deprive him of the chamberlain's staff: thenceforth he became one of the bitterest enemies of the Crown. His brilliant nuptials in 1614, with a daughter of the Earl of Oxford, are frequently alluded to by writers of the day; his second marriage with "the high-born and high-spirited heiress of the Cliffords," widow of the Earl of Dorset, ended after nearly twenty years of bitter thraldom on her part in a separation. Yet she has dealt more leniently with his character than the rest of his biographers. She thus describes her lord,—"He was no scholar, having been but three or four months at Oxford when he was taken thence, after his father's death, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign to follow the Court; judging himself fit for that kind of life when not passing sixteen years old. Yet he was of quick apprehension, sharp understanding, very crafty withal, of a discerning spirit but a choleric nature, increased by the office he held of Chamberlain to the King." Viscount Say and Sele was now about sixty-four years of age, of ancient family and liberal education, yet a Repub-

Pym, Hollis, Martyn, Fiennes, Pierpoint, Glynn, Sir William Waller, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir John Meyrick, of the Commons.[1]

The Parliamentary army was to consist of twenty regiments of infantry, of about one thousand men each; and seventy-five troops of horse, each of sixty horses. Lords Kimbolton (afterwards Manchester) and Brook, with Hampden, Meyrick, Hollis, and CROMWELL,[2] presided in the camp. Lord Essex was named general-in-chief.[3]

"The like" [preparation], says Mr. Carlyle,[4] "was going on in all shires of England; wherever the Parliament had a zealous member, it sent him down to his shire in these critical months, to make

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lican in principle. He was engaged in some transactions concerning the Palatinate in King James's reign, that sent him to prison. This, however, in arbitrary times, was no proof of guilt. He was made Master of the Court of Wards by Charles I., for which he received ten thousand pounds a year (equivalent to more than thirty thousand pounds now) compensation from the Parliament. He was, as an Independent, a great admirer of Cromwell; afterwards his bitter enemy. Echard (p. 716) says that he retired in disgust from the protectorate to the loneliest and most unapproachable spot in England, the island of Lundy. After the Restoration he was made Lord Privy Seal, and Chamberlain by Charles II.

[1] This Committee had been formed on the 4th of July. The best of the Peers, and the majority of the Commons, Essex, Hollis, Hampden, Fiennes, Waller, Stapleton, were almost always in the field: so that Pym had but few associates, and none of much power, to control.

[2] There is a "List of the Army under the Earl of Essex," in the British Museum (King's Coll. No. 73). I have not found (to my great privation) any similar list of the royal army.

[3] Guizot, "Revolution d'Angleterre," i. 251.

[4] Cromwell's Letters, &c. i. 154.

what management he could or durst. The most confused months that England ever saw. In every shire, in every parish; in court-houses, alehouses, churches, markets, wheresoever men were gathered together, England, with sorrowful confusion in every fibre, is tearing itself into hostile halves, to carry on the voting by pike and bullet henceforth."[1]

The King was now freed from all motives of reserve: at the same time he shook off the vacillating and divided counsels that had hitherto paralyzed every movement of his party. He proceeded to immediate action, with a vigour that gave sympathetic life to every Cavalier. Their trumpets now rang out fearlessly through the half of England, and thrilled with a new spirit the heart of every loyal man. Old armour came down from a thousand old walls, and clanked upon the anvils of every smithy. "Boot and saddle" was the order of the day and night; horses rose in price,[2] and every buff-coat, and piece of steel, that could turn or deal a blow, became of value; even "the long-bow," the

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[1] If Parliament had inspired its followers with its own hardy and daring spirit, neither did the King want for brave and fearless champions, even in the City: Sir Richard Gurney published the royal Commission of Array in the face of day, and of his enemies. He was, thereupon, sent to the Tower, deposed from his Lord Mayoralty by an illegal assumption of authority, and Alderman Pennington was appointed to his place by Parliament.

[2] Horses were, in 1643, valued at 4*l.*; see a letter hereafter from Lord Wrottesley's Collection; they had been as cheap as 30*s.* and 50*s.*—*Eccleston.*

"brown-bill," and the cross-bow,[1] resumed their almost-forgotten use; rude spears, and common staves, and Danish clubs, assumed the rank of weapons. Such of the country gentlemen as had neglected or refused to obey the Parliament "militia ordinance" had already been branded as "delinquents," and not a few had suffered more than mere nominal insult: now *their* turn was come; many helped themselves freely to such Roundhead stores as they were strong enough to spoil, and blood had been shed in many nameless skirmishes before History took cognizance of the fact. A local, but wide-spread, warfare, of the most exciting nature to the young and ardent, of the most painful to the old and grave, set in. We may imagine the case of England now, if all her yeomanry troops were mustered, and prompted to assail and circumvent one another in every manner that daring, ingenuity, and knowledge of the country could devise; every deputy-lieutenant a commanding officer, every labourer a militia-man, and every tradesman a volunteer: inspire these confused masses with such a temper as a well-contested election can call forth, and set them all free to work their will. Such was the condition into which the England of 1642 was at once plunged, from a state of profound repose, enjoyed for nearly one hundred years. The spirit of war stalked abroad

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[1] Mr. Grenvil's returns, quoted by Lord Nugent, Life of Hampden, ii. 171.

confessed, and also cowered by many a household hearth: father and son, brother and brother,—each was too often divided against the other; and they of the same household were found in hostile camps. More than once in the following pages we shall have to speak of men who slew an enemy, and found a parent in the corpse they were about to spoil. Even the face of nature became changed; old familiar scenes assumed a strange, rough, hostile look. Once peaceful homesteads, and quiet villages, rang with the fatal but fascinating sounds of war: every strong house became a fortress; every household, a garrison.

It is a difficult and unprofitable task to discover where the first blood was shed. By some[1] it is said to have been in Somersetshire, by Sir John Stowell; by others, in Manchester, by Lord Strange, where "one Richard Percival, a linen-webster, was killed;"[2] by others, to have been in Yorkshire, by a body of "Northumberland Royal Horse,"[3] who were passing through the county, and heard that Sir Edward Rodes was in the act of obeying the Parliamentary ordinance of militia. The Northumbrian Officers "fell upon the latter, seized their arms, burned a barn which they had attempted to defend, and rode on with their spoil, leaving death behind them." This skirmish took place about the

[1] Clarendon and Warwick. [2] In July, Heath's Chron. 38.
[3] MSS. entitled "Northern Intelligence," in Fairfax Correspondence, ii. p. 413.

21st of July, when his Majesty began his progress to the south. On the 21st of June previously, there had been a severe trial of strength, but without actual loss of life, in Leicester. The proclamations, at the same time, of the King's Commission of Array, and the Parliamentary Ordinance, occasioned, as may be supposed, a violent clashing between the rival recruiting officers. The King's Commission of Array, as below,[1] had been sent to

[1] HIS MAJESTY'S COMMISSION OF ARRAY.

"Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, &c., to our most dear cousins Henry Earl of Huntingdon and William Earl of Devonshire, and also to our beloved and trusty Henry Hastings, Esquire, son of the said Earl of Huntingdon, Henry Barklay, George Villiers, Thomas Hartopp, Baronets; Henry Shipwith, &c. Knights; Henry Hasting of Humberton, &c. Esquires, and the Sheriff of our County of &c. for the time being, greeting. Know ye, that we, willing to take care and provide for the safety and defence of our self and kingdome, and our lieges thereof, according as our duty is, and by God's good favourresolving to resist the malice of our enemies, if they shall presume to invade this our realm of England, have appointed you, or any three or more of you, to array and train all and every person and persons in arms, *bowmen*, &c. dwelling within your said county, within liberties and without; and that you cause to be armed all such as are able of body, and fit to bear them, who have of their own wherewith to arm themselves, viz. every one according to his estate or condition, to rate and proportion according to your advice and discretion, or of any three of you; and to distrain all those who have lands and possessions, and through debility of body are unable for service, causing them to find according to the quality of their lands and goods, what arms conveniently and reasonably (saving their condition) they can bear: and to promote men-at-arms, armed but with bows and arrows, so that they who shall stay and continue at their own home in their county for the defence of this our kingdom against our enemies, shall receive no wages nor expenses for this their stay at home aforesaid: and that you likewise dispose and cause to be disposed the said men, armed and arrayed, into regiments,

the Lord Lieutenant of the county, and was the first ever published by the King. It gave great offence to the Parliament; although they had, a few

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troops, and companies, or other division as you shall see convenient: and we have assigned you, or any three or more of you, whereof you the said Earl of Huntingdon, and in your absence you the said Earl of Devonshire, or you Henry Hastings, son of the said Earl of Huntingdon, to be one of the said men-at-arms and bowmen, so arrayed and trained, as well to the sea-coasts, as to any other places, where and as often and as need shall require, to expel, overcome, and destroy our said enemies, from time to time in any eminent peril to command and lead; and we have likewise commissioned you, or any three or more of you, to cause muster or musters of the said men so armed and arrayed to be made, and to supervise them as oft as occasion shall require. And also to proclaim, ordain, and diligently examine, and see that all and every such men-at-arms, armed men, and bowmen, in such musters, be armed with their own and not others' weapons, upon penalty of losing them; those only excepted who are to be armed at the charge of others. And to arrest, take, and in our prisons to put all and every of those who in this behalf you shall find enemies or rebels, and to continue them in such prisons until they shall be thence delivered by law. And therefore, as straightly as we can, upon your faith and allegiance which you owe us, we enjoin and command you, that forthwith, upon the sight of these presents, that in the best and safest manner you can you arm and array yourselves; and that before you, at certain days and places which you shall judge most expedient and convenient, and of least hindrance to our people, you cause all men dwelling in your county by whom the array and arming may be best effected and completed, to be called and come together there and then to be arrayed and armed, and thence so arrayed and armed to keep in the same array. And furthermore, that you cause beacons to be set up in the usual places, by which the several counties may in fit time be forearmed against the coming of our enemies. * * *

"In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourself the 11th day of June, in the eighteenth year of reign,

"PER IPSUM REGEM." *

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* History of Leicester.

days previously, sent a like Commission of their own to the "Earl of Stamford, Lord Grey of Groby, Lord Ruthen, and Sir Arthur Haselrig."[1] The latter had actually proceeded to muster the train-bands on the strength of it, when a royal messenger, with a proclamation against such doings, galloped into the town, and rode up to the place of meeting: he there presented his message, and forbade, on pain of treason, one man to stir in that affair. The Roundheads then adjourned to Melton Mowbray, and other adjacent towns, where they gathered about five hundred men. Meanwhile, the gallant Hastings[2] had sent to Leicester, and commanded the High Sheriff to assemble the train-bands, at the "Rawdykes," on the 22nd of June. On the 21st, Hastings arrived, from the royal head-quarters at York, at Loughborough. He there collected about one hundred of his father's tenants, whom he armed with pikes and muskets, and then boldly proclaimed the Royal Commission "at the Market-cross." It was expected that Lord Stamford would

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[1] Lord Stamford (in whose title that of Grey of Groby is involved) still has a residence near Leicester. Sir Arthur Haselrig, too, still represents the name and place of his ancestors: so also Sir Edmund Hartopp, and several others. These families, in keeping the old names alive, seem to bring history more near, and associate our sympathies with other days.

[2] A younger son of Lord Huntingdon, created Lord Loughborough by patent, of Oct. 29th, 1643: an indefatigable and heroic partizan. The Parliamentary papers call him "a notable thief and robber:" the device upon his banner was not conciliatory—"*Quasi ignis conflatoris.*"—*Hollings' History of Leicester.*

have interrupted the march to Leicester, as he had raised a guard of one hundred and twenty musketeers, and twenty horse, for the protection of his house at Bradgate; but Hastings advanced without molestation. He entered the town on the 22nd of June, with "banners displayed and matches burning."[1] He then proceeded to the Horse-Fair-Leas, then outside the walls, and read the King's Commission. The High Sheriff (Archdale Palmer), who was also there with a guard, immediately read the Parliamentary decree *against* this Commission, and two messengers from the Commons attempted to seize Colonel Hastings where he stood. Then his followers rushed forward to the rescue, and were encountered by the Sheriff's Guard: the townspeople joined the tumult on one side and the other, and some of them fairly carried Hastings off to his own inn, where he barricaded himself against the opposing mob. He left Leicester that night with reduced forces, for the Roundhead citizens had risen upon his men, as they lay dispersed in quarters, and deprived most of them of their arms. The uproar had been great, and much bitter language and many blows had passed in this affair, but no lives were lost. I have recorded it at length, as exem-

[1] Few readers need to be informed that matchlocks were principally used at this time. Each had a long coil of twisted tow steeped in saltpetre attached to it. This was only lighted in the time of action: a cock brought it down to the touchhole of the piece.

plifying, together with the note below, the manner in which these things were done.[1]

Whilst Hastings thus took the initiative at Leicester, the Marquis of Hertford in Somersetshire,[2] the Earl of Northampton in Warwickshire,

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[1] "Then the Cavaliers and the rest of the soldiers joining with the rude multitude, and about twenty-four parsons in canonicals, well horsed, rode all towards the town with loud exclamations, 'A King! a King!' and others, 'For a King! for a King!' in a strange and unheard of manner, Captain Worsley giving the word of command to the soldiers, 'Make ready, make ready,' which, as they were proceeding to do, a sudden and extraordinary abundance of rain falling, hindered the soldiers from firing." . . . "Then they followed Master Sheriff Chambers and Stanforth, crying out, 'At the cap! at the cap!' which was at that time on Chambers' head, and Master Hastings gave fire at Chambers with one of his petronels, but the same did not discharge," &c.—(From the depositions made by Stanforth and Chambers, the two Parliamentary messengers above alluded to, as attempting to execute a writ of arrest against Colonel Hastings.) *See* Mr. Hollings' "History of Leicester," a work of considerable research, and in every way creditable to the talent, candour, and good feeling of the author. Being published in a country town, it is too little known.

[2] Then made Lieutenant-General of the west. Lord Hertford was one of the most heroic of the Cavaliers, and in every respect a nobleman. He was descended from Henry VII., and had provoked James I.'s jealousy, by attempting to marry Arabella Stuart. For this he was forced to fly from England, but soon afterwards returned, and lived in well-employed retirement for many years. As I have before quoted from Lloyd, "those who live under a Court-cloud are generally in the people's sunshine," and Lord Hertford's popularity became unbounded. He took part with his friends in their great quarrel against despotism, but as soon as he found that tyranny had changed sides, he did so too. He became governor to the Prince of Wales, and at great peril conveyed him to Greenwich to the King. When he retired to the west to raise forces for the King, such was his popularity, that he raised an army by his own summons (one of the best, truest, and faithfulest that the King possessed); and such was his disinterestedness, that he yielded the command of it to another without a murmur. "He lay ever close within himself," says

Lord Strange (afterwards Earl of Derby[1]) in Lan-

Lloyd, "armed with those two master-pieces, resolution and duty, wherewith he mated the blackest events, that did rather exercise than dismay that spirit [of his] that was above them, and that mind that looked beyond them." .... "He offered his life for his Prince's service in the field, and his person for his ransom at the Court; and when many wished they might die for that excellent King, he, with the Earls of Lindsay and Southampton, offered, 'That since his Majesty was presumed by the law to do no harm himself, and since he did all by them, his ministers, as they had the honour to act under him, so they prayed they might have the happiness to suffer instead of him upon the scaffold."—*Lloyd's Loyalist*, 288; *Hume*, vi. 433.

[1] James Stanley, first Earl of Derby, was said, with his ancestors, to have been "so eminent for their loyalty and hospitality, as made them kings of hearts as well as of Man."—[*Lloyd's Loyalist*, 453.] The latter title was conferred by Henry IV. on Sir John Stanley. This gallant race was "never tainted by treason or disloyalty; beloved both by Prince and people, being such good landlords that people thrived better on their tenements than they did on their own freeholds." The subject of this note married Charlotte, daughter of Claude Duc de la Tremouille, and Charlotte of Nassau, daughter of William Prince of Orange. Of this heroic lady we shall have to speak presently. Lord Derby was made K.C.B. at Charles I.'s coronation, and was soon afterwards summoned to Parliament. During his father's lifetime, he devoted himself to the (then rare) task of cultivating the morals and improving the comforts of his tenantry. He had scarcely become the head of his ancient House, when his energies were called forth, and were devoted to the service of the King. He "mustered the county" (on the occasion alluded to in the text) on the three heaths of Berry, Ormskirk, and Preston, and at each place of rendezvous, 20,000 men are said to have answered his summons.—[*Heath*, 454.] Whilst he was thus engaged, the setting up of the standard was changed from Warrington to Nottingham, with the King's usual wavering and consequent misfortune. The earl then raised three regiments of foot and three troops of horse, whom he clothed and armed at his own expense: with these he defeated the Roundheads at Houghton Common, took Preston by storm, as related in his own letter in the second volume of this work. He was called suddenly away from the fortifying of Lathom House, by intelligence of a design of the enemy upon the Isle of Man. He rallied his men three times at Marston Moor: he took refuge after that de-

cashire and Cheshire, and Sir Ralph Hopton[1] on the Welsh Border, were similarly engaged, and with better success.[2] Sir John Byron raised levies in Oxfordshire, but was set upon and driven thence by the Roundheads. He then occupied Worcester for the King.

It is now necessary to return to the head-quarters of the Cavaliers at York. The King found that his welcome there was nearly worn out, his cause making little progress, and complaints of outrages committed in his name came in from many quarters. He therefore determined to make a tour through the neighbouring counties,[3] in the hope of

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feat in the Isle of Man, which he held against the Parliament, for Charles II., until the battle of Worcester. Here he joined the King after a fight at Wigan, in which he received seven shots on his breastplate, thirteen cuts upon his beaver, five or six wounds, and he had two horses killed under him. After the defeat at Worcester, he led the King to Boscobel, and was soon afterwards taken prisoner, under promise of quarter. A Roundhead court-martial, however, never displayed much honour, and he was sentenced to be beheaded. He died as heroically as he had lived, and this epitaph was thrown into his coffin by some daring hand :—

> " Beauty, wit, courage, all here in one lie dead :
> A Stanley's hand, Vere's heart, and Cecil's head."

Even Horace Walpole is touched by this chivalrous earl's character : he says, " the conduct and brave death of this lord were but the conclusion of a life of virtue, accomplishment, and humanity." — *Clarendon, Heath, Lloyd's Loyalist, Lodge, Walpole.*

1 Whom we have met before in Bohemia, p. 38.

2 Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. appendix E.

3 One cause of the King's delay at York seems to have been his want of money : he had scarcely enough to furnish himself and the two princes with provisions. About this time the Queen dispatched the " Providence," of twenty-eight guns, with some money,

correcting abuses, and conciliating popularity. He had another more powerful inducement in moving upon Hull. Lord Digby having been taken prisoner on the sea, disguised as a Frenchman, was committed under that character to Sir John Hotham's keeping. Sir John was Lord Digby's bitter enemy; yet this daring and eloquent courtier not only confessed his disguise, but so far wrought upon the fear and hopes of the governor, that he was permitted to escape from Hull; carrying with him Hotham's promise to render the town on the first royal summons. On the 7th of July,[1] accompanied by his newly-raised guard, and all his Court, the King proceeded to Beverley, in pursuance of Digby's devices: that town being only four miles from Hull. It is not easy to understand what was the nature of his demonstration here; we have only a proclamation against Hotham and the town as long as it should remain rebellious. This proclamation was sent to both Houses of Parliament on the 12th of July, with an intimation that on the 27th the King would

about two hundred barrels of powder, two or three thousand stand of arms, and seven or eight field-pieces. The Parliament was well informed of the freighting and destination of the "Providence," and no sooner had she left the coast of Holland than she found herself pursued by three or four Parliamentary ships. They pressed upon her in a long and eager chase until she entered the Humber, and then they conceived she was their own. Suddenly she disappeared; a small creek that led towards Burlington was well known to her gallant captain (Stroughan). The chasers were baffled, the cargo saved, and the ship abandoned.—*Clarendon's Rebellion*, iii. 104.

[1] Iter Carolinum.

return to Hull to enforce its obedience, if not previously delivered to him! While this strange message and delay were enabling the Parliament, and the object of his attack, to resist him, the King made a tour through Doncaster, Newark, Lincoln, and so back to Beverley on the 17th. Here he found Lord Holland and a committee, with another "high message" from the Parliament: to this the King replied at very great length, publishing the Parliamentary document with his own, as was always his wise practice; he then proceeded on another tour to Nottingham on the 21st of July, and Leicester on the 22nd of July, when he was very loyally received.[1] The assizes were then about being held, and the grand jury were assembled, as in the most tranquil times. The King made a good speech to the town authorities, and attempted to get possession of their magazine. In their reply, seconded by the whole of the grand jury, they pray that the magazine may be broken up, and the arms distributed through the several hundreds of the county, which was consented to as a gracious compromise.[2]

According to his appointment for the 27th, the King returned towards Hull, and reached Doncaster on the 26th of July. The Hothams, meanwhile, had not been idle; the elder, in endeavouring to

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[1] On the 22nd July, Iter Carol.; Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 145.
[2] Hollings' "History of Leicester."

conciliate the King, without betraying himself to the Parliament; and the younger, in contravening all his father's plans, and rendering himself conspicuous in his disloyal zeal. The former, a Cavalier in heart, had only been induced to adopt the opposite party out of personal hatred to Lord Strafford, who had slighted him; the latter, at first a fierce Roundhead, was soon seized with a similar jealousy of Fairfax, and engaged in a correspondence with Lord Newcastle, which led to his own and his father's execution by the unforgiving Parliament.

Up to this period, however, young Hotham had acted so as to gratify the most resolute Roundheads: the King had scarcely retired from Hull on the first occasion, when he determined to make the first use of his new power by gratifying the Parliament and his own revenge. Archbishop Williams[1]

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[1] This prelate was one of the most singular men of his time, and was only prevented by the jealousy of Parliament, and his own inconsistency, from vying in political power with Richelieu and Mazarine. He had all the boldness of the one and the unscrupulousness and subtlety of the other; magnificent, magnanimous, and yet mean, he presents the warning spectacle of a noble spirit degraded by ignoble actions, to which, intending only to *lend* himself, the Devil took care that he should be sold. In his, as in Bacon's case, "mere worms had eaten into a heart of oak." He was the churchman whose ambition, avarice, and courtiership was most fatal to the Church. Laud spiritually, Williams temporally, drew down the attention and enmity of the Parliament upon their order. Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln, was base enough to counsel the King to violate his conscience as a matter of political expediency on Strafford's trial, but he was at the same moment wise enough to conjure him not to sign the bill for per-

was then residing at Cawood Castle, near York. He had been lately very active in raising funds for the King's service, which afforded a sufficient excuse for Hotham's revenge. The Archbishop, it appears, had denounced the young Puritan for disloyalty, and so far injured him (as he considered) that he swore he would cut off his Grace's head. News of the attack was brought to the Archbishop at midnight; "the castle was ruinous and unfortified," and but few

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petual parliaments: the unhappy King thought, that when he yielded up Strafford, he could with an ill grace withhold ought else, and he signed the bill that unkinged him "with the same drop of ink that he had used for Strafford's execution." When the King was about to proceed to Scotland in 1641, he conjured him to abandon such a purpose as would give the Parliament and their party time and opportunity to strengthen their position. "Rather," said he, "stay here at all risks, and endeavour to mitigate the popular leaders by giving them preferment: the Scots will only take your courtesy as a sign of fear." He was the last bishop who made a visitation to his diocese before "the troubles," for which he had to defend himself "before a conference of both Houses in the Painted Chamber." Early in 1642 he was made Archbishop of York. He was afterwards, with eleven bishops, imprisoned in the Tower for protesting against any bill that should pass the Lords during the enforced absence of him and his brethren: whilst in prison he became reconciled to Laud. These two great churchmen in the Tower, and the King a fugitive, present a striking proof of parliamentary power. At length the King, as Williams said, "sacrificed the Church to the Parliament at Canterbury" [*Hackett*], which shocked Williams far more than the consent to Strafford's death. The bishops were expelled the House of Lords on the 14th of February, and thereupon released from the Tower. The archbishop left London never to return. He fortified and defended Conway Castle, not only against the Parliament, but the King.—*Philips, Heylin, Lloyd.* In the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, I find this pithy epitaph upon this prelate:—

"Lo! here York's metropolitan is laid,
Who God's anointed and the Church betrayed."

men left to guard it, so his Grace was fain to flee, without "even a change of apparel." When Hotham arrived, at five o'clock in the morning, he found his intended victim was gone, and with him every pretext for spoiling the old castle. The Archbishop met the King on his way to Beverley, and informed him of what he might expect on his arrival before Hull: then, "leaving with his Majesty the stoutest of his own followers to serve him, and weeping many tears," he fled on to Conway, in North Wales, where we shall soon find him, "arrayed with buff and bandolier," very conspicuously among the militants of both parties.

Notwithstanding this demonstration on the part of the younger Hotham, the King was reassured of the father's desire to surrender Hull; Lord Digby had once more risked his life by venturing thither in disguise. The character of the eccentric and highly-gifted cavalier, who was Prince Rupert's bitterest enemy, and the cause of many of his errors, requires some observation. He was one of the chief promoters of the war: he advised the King worse, and acted for him more zealously, than any of his councillors: he was one of the many who deserted from the Parliament party to the King, when they conceived that the cause of their country or their own interests had also changed: he eloquently denounced Strafford for his crimes, and still more eloquently opposed his unconstitutional attainder: he was principally instrumental in bringing

over Falkland, Hyde, and Colepepper to the King's party: yet, almost at the same time, he turned the scale, by advising the King to seize the Five Members, and afterwards by his rash demonstration at Kingston-upon-Thames. Even when he exiled himself from England, his influence was no less fatal: his intercepted letters to the Queen precipitated the final and irrevocable breach between her Majesty and the Parliament. The King was fascinated by his address, his eloquence, his daring, and his devotion: he always prevailed in his purposes, however wild, if he could only obtain the ear of Charles: he promised all things, and succeeded in none; yet the easy and kindly nature peculiar to his hapless race, induced the King to pardon every impetuous error of his favourite. Digby was the last of the King's fatal list of evil advisers, and he united in himself almost all their gifts and errors; the grace and recklessness of Buckingham, the eloquence and imperiousness of Strafford, the love of intrigue and the military incompetence of Hamilton. We shall frequently meet with his name in the course of the following events, and always recognise in him the same gay and gifted and good-for-nothing character: able and willing to undertake everything; unable to accomplish the slightest of his undertakings, whether it was a political intrigue or a charge of cavalry.[1]

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[1] George Digby, second Earl of Bristol, was born at Madrid in

And now, at the risk of his life, he placed the King once more in a false and dangerous position:

1612, during one of his father's embassies thither.* In the beginning of the Long Parliament (as he says in his ingenious "Apologie, published at Oxford in January 1642–3," and to be found in the King's Collection of Pamphlets at the British Museum), he "was passionate against the pressures [grievances] and those who begot those pressures," but he revolted from his party when they determined, *per fas* and *nefas*, to take Strafford's life. In his "Apologie" he says, that he first incurred the popular displeasure "on the first debate of episcopacy." He soon afterwards joined the Court party, and devoted himself to its ends with characteristic vehemence. He drew down Parliamentary vengeance on himself, after the King had left London in disgust or fear for Hampton Court, by heading a meeting of Royalist officers and others at Kingston-upon-Thames: here it was asserted that he appeared with six-score horsemen: he says in his "Apologie," he went thither in his "coach with six posting horses, with one man in the coach with him, and one servant riding by; and he thought it utterly impossible for the most romancy malice to raise scandal thereout." After this he fled from Holland, to avoid Strafford's fate, and thence wrote letters to the Queen and Sir Lewis Dives, his brother-in-law, which were betrayed by the bearer to the Parliament. They were considered very treasonable, especially that in which he "welcomed the Queen from a country not worthy of her." On the King's disappointment, for the first time, before Hull, Digby volunteered to return to the governor and confirm his loyalty. Having

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* This father, John first Earl of Bristol, performed a very conspicuous part in the politics of James I. and the early part of his son's reign. His conduct at Madrid seems ambiguous, but not so his noble reply to the King of Spain, when offered by him a valuable jewel with the assurance that James should never know of the gift: "There is one, sire," he replied, "who would tell him—the Earl of Bristol." Lloyd pays him this doubtful compliment, "Whatever was at the bottom of his actions, there was resolution and nobleness a-top." That his spirit was great abroad was his honour; that it was too great at home was his unhappiness. Fuller ("Worthies of Warwickshire," p. 124) says "that he did ken [as well he might, he was ambassador twenty-three several times] the ambassador's craft as well as any in his age."

he had written from his concealment in Hull that Sir John Hotham only sought for an opportunity to surrender, and he persuaded the sanguine King once more to appear before those forbidding walls, and once more to be dishonoured.[1]

"shaved his beard, and assumed the dress and talk of a Frenchman," he had heretofore remained unknown even in the King's quarters, and so returned to Hull. There he found his friend, Sir John, in great trepidation, overawed by his son and other Parliamentary spies: all he could do was to set his disguised prisoner free once more (with Jack Ashburnham), and allow him to return to the King. Swift describes Lord Digby as "the prototype of Lord Bolingbroke;" Lord Oxford, as "a singular person, whose life was one contradiction. He wrote against Papacy, and embraced it; he was a zealous opposer of the Court, and a sacrifice for it; was conscientiously converted in the midst of his prosecution of Lord Strafford, and was most unconscientiously a prosecutor of Lord Clarendon. With great parts, he always hurt himself and his friends; with romantic bravery, he was always an unsuccessful commander. He spoke for the test act, though a Roman Catholic, and addicted himself to astrology on the birthday of true philosophy." "The great genius of Lord Clarendon," says Bishop Warburton, "in drawing character is never more happily exerted than when this very extraordinary nobleman comes across his pen. . . . . He was generous towards this mortal enemy, and superior to him in all senses."—*Bishop Warburton's Notes to Clarendon*, vii. 348. The following is a cotemporary's lampoon upon him:—

"Next enters a gentleman in disguise, newly landed out of the ship called Providence; Ahitophel junior, with store of Sampson's foxes and firebrands; pull off his vizard, and his name is George Digby. This is the beardless Solon; Lycurgus newly whipped out of long-coats into the privy-council; Treachery's son, and Machiavel's concubine; for by him were spawned those desperate aphorisms and positions of his Majesty's wandering from his Parliament. What we wonder at in the last is natural to him, being a native Spaniard (born at Madrid), to have antipathy to the weal of our nation; for an atheist that hath neither religion nor conscience to sway him, follows the constitution and engrafted principles of his climate."—*Harleian Miscel. Vols.* 216.

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 171.

The town had, in the mean time, been strengthened by the Parliament with five hundred men from Boston, under Sir John Meldrum. They arrived punctually to the *King's* appointment for the 27th, and were quite ready to resist him. On the morning of that day, the King proceeded towards his rebellious town, with banners flying over his little army,[1] and drums and trumpets sounding among them. When he arrived within sight of the place, however, he found an unexpected obstacle; the country had been widely flooded by the enemy, and only a narrow causeway was left uncovered, along which the temporary Governor came trooping with five hundred townsmen, and drove back a reconnoitring party of the King's. Charles, however, advanced with the main body of his force, and sat down before the town. The old Earl of Lindsey had a few days before received the commission of "General-in-Chief of the Army," and was somewhat "put out of countenance," as Lord Clarendon, who was watching that countenance at the time, observes, "on finding himself without an army, and committed in such an expedition." Officers and their servants were there in abundance; but cavalry can avail nothing against stone walls, and the infantry

[1] Mrs. Hutchinson, in her "Memoirs," p. 113, overrates this army at three thousand foot and one thousand horse. She also states that the King "beleaguered the town," which seems inapplicable, as he left Beverley on the 27th, and returned to York on the 30th.

was composed entirely of train-bands: upon these reluctant and ill-disciplined troops the veteran Lindsey placed no dependance—and the event justified his judgment.[1] The King's whole artillery at this time consisted of a few light field-pieces; these were ostentatiously advanced against the strong walls of the town, and a barn, that lay near, was converted into an arsenal. This hostile attitude was maintained for two anxious days, Charles calculating rather on the strength of his cause within, than of his force without the walls. He reckoned in vain: men who fight with halters round their necks, are watchful and desperate: Sir John Hotham, closely watched by the emissaries of the Parliament, and by his own son,[2] was forced to appear and to act like the most vehement of Roundheads. A sortie was made by the garrison the second night of the siege; they slew some few cavaliers and sluggish train-bands, and took others prisoners: they pushed on to the magazine-barn, carried off the ammunition, and lighted themselves back to

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[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 170.

[2] There is something horrible in the last hours of these two men. When tried for treason each endeavoured to inculpate the other, the son endeavouring to save his own life by taking away that of his father, and the father retorting the same endeavour on the parricide. As soon as the Parliament, by means of the atrocious Hugh Peters, had done with the son, they beheaded him; and then they encouraged the father with hope of life, until they had drained him of all the information in his power to give, when they beheaded him also; "he died full of horror in his disappointment."—*Heath's Chronicle; Ludlow*, i. 83.

the town by the conflagration of the rustic arsenal.[1] The next morning [the 30th of July], the King, by the urgent advice of his council of war, broke up from his position, and returned to York.[2]

Another heavy disappointment succeeded to the discomfiture at Hull. It was well known that the captains of the fleet served with reluctance under Lord Warwick and the Parliament. The King proposed to Sir John Pennington to go straight to the fleet, and there summon all the sailors to their allegiance. Even that brave man hesitated to undertake such an enterprise, and the better counsel was then devised of writing to each captain individually, to sail away with his ship and repair to Burlington Bay, to receive his Majesty's commands. Scarcely were these letters despatched, when Pennington made up his mind to act upon the original suggestion, and other letters were forwarded requiring the captains to obey only such orders as they should receive from Sir John. The worthy old admiral seems to have been bewildered by the complexity of these land manœuvres; he waited for a certain Sir Henry Palmer (who had been also written to),[3] and the captains waited for Sir John,

[1] Mrs. Hutchinson's "Memoirs," p. 114.

[2] The King made what his Chronicler calls "one attempt neer it, to shew his just indignation, and to satisfie his honor, when he lost unhappily some twenty men."—*Heath's Chronicle*, p. 38.

[3] For no apparent good reason. But a "*cacoethes scribendi*" seems to have possessed Charles and his council at this time; an unfortunate passion, as the majority of their despatches only reached their enemies.

and the opportunity was lost. Lord Warwick had been amusing himself on shore in a very unpuritanical manner,[1] but he got on board before his intended successor; and when the latter at length arrived, he was placed under arrest, and sent back to London to be tried for treason.[2]

The King remained for about a fortnight longer at York,[3] continuing to hold his Court at the Deanery, and urging on, with newly-developed vigour and talents, such preparations as his slender resources admitted of. Another bright and delusive gleam of good fortune had broken in upon his gloomy prospects: it revived his party, but induced him to raise his standard prematurely.

Ever since his betrayal of the Army Plot, Lord[4] Goring had been Governor of Portsmouth, in the

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[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 113.

[2] The navy had never been disloyal before or since, though occasionally a little mutinous against thievish pursers and sanguinary captains. But some ungracious and unguarded words are said to have lost the King the childlike affections of the seamen: when he heard that the sailors took part with the Five Members, he exclaimed, "How have I lost the hearts of those water-rats!"

[3] "From the King's leaving his Court at York," says Heath, in his quaint manner, "with an intent to encourage his party in the Commission of Array, we cannot call his removes a progress, but an expedition; and, indeed, it was a perfect war levied, though at such distances, that the *twilight* of peace was preserved only by his hovering *near the solstice* of his kingdom, the midland; without engaging the confines of their association; which, if he had done speedily, it is probable we had not seen that *night* of confusion that followed in his *setting* and *declination*."—*Heath's Chronicle*, p. 37.

[4] His father had lately been made Earl of Norwich.

Vandyke. pinx.

J. W. Cook, sc.

George Goring

EARL OF NORWICH.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

name of the Parliament: his matchless powers of dissimulation had so far imposed on the new self-constituted authorities, that they gave him four thousand pounds[1] to strengthen the fortifications, while at the same time the Queen gave him three thousand pounds, and some valuable jewels, to gain over the garrison. With the King he had so far succeeded, as to induce his adherence to the royal service, believing the King's favour would render it the more profitable career: while, with the Parliament, he had obtained such influence, that he was appointed Lieutenant-General of their horse, under Essex.[2] In this capacity he continued at Ports-

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[1] Bulstrode, "Memoirs." p. 69.

[2] Lord Clarendon's character of this extraordinarily gifted and unprincipled man, is one of his most successful and exquisite compositions. [*See* note to "History of Rebellion," iii. 173.] As hereafter little will be recorded of him except his villanies and his brute courage, I subjoin an extract from the above, in order to account in some degree for his position in the royal army. "He was, in truth, a person very powerful to get esteem, having a person very winning and graceful in all his motions. He had a civility which shed itself over all his countenance, and gathered all the eyes and applications in view: his courage was notorious and confessed; his wit equal to the best, and in the most universal conceptions: his language and expression natural, sharp, and flowing, adorned with a wonderful seeming modesty, and with such a constant and perpetual sprightliness and pleasantness of humour, that no man had reason to be ashamed of being disposed to love him, or even of being deceived by him." In a pamphlet of 1643, reprinted in the Harl. Miscellany, are sketches of the principal Cavaliers under the head of "An Oxford Incendiary." Some of the characters are very cleverly lampooned. I only give Goring's as illustrating this jewel transaction, which Clarendon says was in money: "I had almost forgotten Goring and her Majesty's jeweller; she plundered the crown [of its jewels] and he conveyed all away, converting all into arms and

mouth, notwithstanding several requisitions from Parliament to attend the House. While storms were gathering all round him, he was carousing at Portsmouth with all the recklessness of a common trooper: and yet, when compelled for a moment to attend to business, he often displayed a genius that only required firmness and honour to be supreme.

At length Lord Kimbolton wrote peremptorily, requiring his attendance in Parliament to answer many accusations, and the governor of Portsmouth was obliged to unmask himself. This he did in a characteristically "jolly" letter, as Lord Clarendon terms it; informing Lord Kimbolton that he was instructed that the Parliamentary arrangements were not altogether legal, and that, in fact, he might run some danger in obeying their orders: that he felt, moreover, that, as Portsmouth was the King's, he could not well be absent thence without his Majesty's permission. In conclusion, he gave Lord Kimbolton much good and loyal advice concerning politics, and the part it behoved a gentleman to take.

This important acquisition of the great southern seaport gave confidence to the royal council. And some such encouragement was much needed; for, the failure before Hull, and other disasters, had

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gunpowder—rare transmutation! But this is the least part of his skill, for in times of peace he was so expert an alchemist that he turned his own rags, and worse things too, into gold and silver."—*Harl. Misc.* v. 346.

alienated the feelings and service of many waverers. The assertion of Pym and Hampden, that he would never be able to raise an army, appeared likely to prove true.[1] That question was now or never to be decided. The Parliamentary forces already mustered strongly; the King had not above three hundred horse, and about as many infantry of all arms, at his disposal. Sir William Waller was marching to invest Portsmouth on the land side, while Lord Warwick prepared to blockade it by the sea. The various levies that had been made through England in the royal name required some central point to rally on, if only in imagination. There was no longer time for hesitation; the standard was to be raised at once, and the place for the ceremony alone remained to be decided on. Many of the King's council proposed York, as being furthest from the Parliament, and the centre of a rich and fertile country: others suggested Warrington, as being more central, and in the midst of a population that had rallied by tens of thousands at the summons of Lord Derby.[2] The former was objected to by the "Gadarenes," whose feelings in this respect were

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[1] When the "good and true" Sir Benjamin Rudyard was on his death-bed in 1643 [he was one of the many whose lives (strange as it may seem in these unearnest times) were shortened by grief for England's wars and woes], "he declared that Hampden and Pym had assured him that the King was so ill-beloved by his subjects that he never could raise an army against them; a mistake that cost many thousand lives."—*Heath's Chronicle*, p. 36, and *May's Parl. Hist.*

[2] Then Lord Strange.

shared by many persons professing loyalty, but anxious to see the King depart, and the scene of war transferred from their neighbourhood. The King himself objected to the northern metropolis, owing to its distance from Portsmouth, and the demonstration that had taken place on Heyworth Moor. Warrington was, unfortunately for the King, also rejected, and Nottingham, being one of the worst places in England for the purpose, was finally selected by the royal council.[1]

As soon as this decision was arrived at, (12th August, 1642,) the King published a declaration, dated the 12th of August, 1642, recapitulating the wrongs he had suffered, the concessions he had made, and the hard necessity he was reduced to of taking up arms to defend his honour, and his very existence. It concluded by declaring the two Houses guilty of many rebellious actions against him, and "forbid all his subjects to yield any obedience unto them." Finally, he issued an accompanying proclamation, requiring "all his subjects who could bear arms, northward of the Trent, and twenty miles to the southward,"[2] to repair to him at Nottingham on the 22nd of August[3] following; on

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[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 183, and Appendix E.

[2] Heath's Chronicle, p. 38.

[3] In Clarendon's text the 25th of August is named; but in the Appendix (to the Oxford edit. 1826) it is written 22nd. Strange to say, that in this Oxford edition the Appendix alone gives the *original*. See back in this work, p. 111, note.

which day he should set up his royal standard there, which all good subjects were required to attend."[1]

It was always the fate or fault of Charles to compromise his most energetic acts by some half measure, that paralysed their strength: he was now persuaded to accompany the summons to his standard by a proclamation forbidding Roman Catholics, to resort to his army, and disclaiming their services. Neither Charles, nor any one of his council (except Hyde, and some of the old soldiers) could bring themselves to understand that it was no longer a war of words, but of weapons, that it behoved them to make; and that every loyal heart and stout arm was needed, and should be welcomed by the King. It was hopeless to compete with the Parliament in

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[1] The following letter, written scarcely a month later, forms the best commentary on this declaration :—

THE KING TO THE EARL OF NEWCASTLE.

[In his own handwriting.]

NEWCASTLE,

This is to tell you that the rebellion is grown to that height, that I must not look what opinion men are who at this time are willing and able to serve me. Therefore I do not only permit, but command you, to make use of all my loving subjects' services, without examining their consciences (more than their loyalty to us), as you shall find most to conduce to the upholding of my just regal power. So I rest

Your most assured faithful friend,

CHARLES R.*

Shrewsbury, 23rd Sept. 1642.

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* Harl. MSS. 6988 and Ellis' Orig. Letters, iii. 291.

bigotry and intolerance, it would have been more politic to assume the opposite course; under the Crown should have been found shelter for the victims of persecution.[1] Lord Clarendon says "that this measure was one of those impositions which the spirit and temper of the times obliged his Majesty to submit to;" but the imposition was perfectly unsuccessful; the minds of men had been long before made up, and it only disclosed to the Parliament a weakness of which they took immediate advantage. From that day forth the royal forces were termed not only "malignant," but "popish."[2]

The King now prepared to leave York, to the great joy of its inhabitants, and even of the neigh-

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[1] *See* Clarendon's Rebellion, iii., Appendix, E. The Roman Catholics had been rendered desperate by the Parliament and their party; their houses had been pulled down, their property spoiled, and themselves insulted by the self-styled champions of freedom: they fought with proportionate zeal for the King throughout the war. At a later day, when George II. saw his best troops forced at Dettingen to give way before a brigade of Irish exiles whose services were forbidden to be used by England, he exclaimed, "Curst be the laws that compel such men to serve my enemies!"

[2] This demonstration was as false as vain: already some of the most important posts on the royal staff were held by Roman Catholics: Sir Arthur Aston, Sir Troilus Turberville, captain of the King's life-guard; Captain (afterwards Sir John) Smith, who rescued the royal standard at Edgehill; Sir Thomas Tildesley, Sir M. (afterwards Lord) Langdale, Lord Dunbar, Endymion Porter, Sir William Vavasour, and others. These names are to be found in a pamphlet of two years later, entitled, "The humble Apology of the English Catholics," wherein it was also said, to the great and groundless triumph of the Roundheads, that "There never was a Papist that was not deemed a Cavalier." See also a rare old book, entitled, "Clarendon and Whitelock Compared. London, 1727," in the London Library.

bouring gentry, who besought him, however, to take measures for their protection before his departure. In compliance with their request, the Earl of Cumberland[1] was appointed to command them in the King's absence, and Sir Thomas Glenham[2] was to exercise the practical duties of command, under the Earl's nominal control. In return for these courtesies, the Yorkshire gentry supplied the King with four or five hundred stand of arms, and furnished "two or three troops of good horse for the Prince [of Wales's] regiment, to be commanded by Sir Thomas Byron."

When the King was fairly departed from among them, it must be stated, to the honour of these "Gadarenes," that they stood stoutly by his cause, for which they shed their blood freely in after years, at Marston Moor, and other deadly fields, under the Marquis of Newcastle.

The King proceeded to Nottingham on the 14th of September,[3] at the head of his small cavalcade; it

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[1] George, Earl of Cumberland, the last of his name, was popular, and "a man of honour, but not in any degree active or of a martial nature: his father had been privy counsellor to Queen Elizabeth, and was famous for five great voyages he made at his own expense, one of which was against the Armada. They, father and son, are buried at Skipton."—*Heath.*

[2] Sir Thomas was a gentleman of noble extraction and a fair fortune, though he had much impaired it: he had spent many years in armies beyond the sea: he had been an officer of very good esteem in the King's service, and of courage and integrity unquestionable....*Clar. Reb.* iii. 185. It was his singular fortune to surrender, honourably, York, Carlisle, and Oxford.

[3] Before leaving Yorkshire, it was proposed to arrest Lord

could scarcely be called an army. The infantry consisted of three hundred train-bands, under Sir John Digby, the cavalry mustered about 600, which soon afterwards increased to the number of 800 horse. Of this cavalry, one troop consisted of Life Guards, under Lord Bernard Stuart: it was composed entirely of nobility and gentry, whose estates and revenues were equal to those of all the members of Parliament who voted for the war.[1] Another troop, under Sir William Killigrew, was composed of the servants of the former: they always accompanied their masters in camp, or in the field.[2] The very slight train of royal artillery, for want of horses, had been left at York, under Sir John Heydon; Sir Arthur Aston commanded the few dragoons, Sir Jacob Astley the foot; the general command of the cavalry, retained for Prince Rupert, was at present held by Lord Wilmot,[3] and that of the whole army was allotted to the Earl of Lindsey.[4] This distinguished

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Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas Fairfax. This was objected to by the loyal gentry, who did not believe them seriously disaffected. It was perhaps well for the King; Fairfax and Essex were his noblest enemies.

[1] Clarendon; Hume. [2] Warwick.

[3] Clarendon's Rebellion, iv. 188, n.

[4] Robert Bertie, first Earl of Lindsey, was born in London, December 16, 1582. Queen Elizabeth was his godmother. Immediately after leaving Cambridge he set out on a foreign tour. On his return he joined Lord Essex's expedition to Cadiz. He was more or less engaged in most of the campaigns in the Low Countries, and he afterwards embarked in several predatory cruizes against the Spaniards. On his marriage with the daughter of the first Lord Montagu he renounced this wandering life. Soon after Charles the First's accession, he was created Earl of

veteran was soon afterwards joined by a large force of loyal gentlemen from Lincolnshire, led by his son, Lord Willoughby.[1] But the important reinforcement did not arrive for some time after the march, and the whole force attending the King, when he raised his standard, with their attendants, did not amount to one thousand men.

The journey from York, about fifty-five miles,[2] occupied two days: on the evening of the 16th of August, the King arrived at Nottingham, and took

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Lindsey and a Knight of the Garter. In 1636 he was appointed Lord High Admiral of England; and on the rising of the Scots in 1639 he was made Governor of Berwick.

Clarendon says of Lord Lindsey, "He was a man of great honour, and spent his youth and vigour of his age in military actions and commands abroad; and albeit he indulged to himself great liberties of life, yet he still preserved a very good reputation with all men and a very great interest in his country, as appeared by the supplies he and his son brought to the King's army; the several companies of his own regiment of foot being commanded by the principal knights and gentlemen of Lincolnshire, who engaged themselves in the service principally out of their personal affection for him. He was of a very generous nature, and punctual in what he undertook and in exacting what was due to him, which made him bear so heavily that restriction that was put upon him by the commission granted to Prince Rupert, and by the King's preferring the Prince's opinion, in all matters relating to the war, before his, nor did he conceal his resentment: the day before the battle [of Edgehill] he said to some friends with whom he had used freedom, that he did not look upon himself as general; and therefore he was resolved, when the day of battle should come, that he would act at the head of his regiment as a private colonel, *where he should die.* He had very many friends and very few enemies, and died generally lamented."—*Lloyd's Loyalists. Lodge's Ill. Pers. Clarendon.*

[1] Clarendon; Lloyd. Hume, confounding the father and son, says that the Earl of Lindsey was at this time Lord Willoughby.

[2] Iter Carolinum.

up his quarters at the Earl of Clare's,[1] who was then recorder of the town. From the time that he left Newmarket, the King seldom slept in a house that he could call his own, until he was taken, as a prisoner, to his palace of Holdenby. Henceforth his days, few and evil, were past in pilgrimage; its shrines were battle-fields, its goal a bloody grave!

With a natural restlessness, Charles then set out, upon the 18th of August, for Warwickshire, to use what power there yet was in his name, in the furtherance of his levies there. Lord Northampton[2] had made vigorous efforts in that direction, but had been much obstructed in his task by Lord Brooke and his party. Whilst on his march, the King received a despatch from Lord Northampton, stating that a strong force of Roundhead troops was on its way to occupy Coventry, but that he, the Earl, had good interest there, having been, for a long

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[1] "Who was often of both parties, and never advantaged either."—*Mrs. Hutchinson*, 117.

[2] Spencer Compton, second Earl of Northampton, was born in May, 1601. Little is known of his early life, but that it was passed amidst the luxury and gaiety of Courts, and yet that he then was *sans reproche*, as ever afterwards *sans peur*. He accompanied Charles I., when Prince of Wales, to Madrid, being then "Master of the Robes," as he continued to be after Charles's accession to the throne. In 1639 he attended the King, with a great train of his own dependants, against the Scottish Covenanters; and afterwards throughout the Civil War he supported the royal cause with the most active zeal, until his brief and brave career was ended nobly on Hopton Heath (in 1643). He was married to a daughter of Sir Francis Beaumont, by whom he had six sons, five of whom displayed all their father's valour and devotion to the King, and with better fortune.

time, recorder of the town.[1] He therefore besought the King to take possession of it, and undertook to prepare the inhabitants for his entrance. He knew not how strong a spirit of resistance had already possessed the townsmen: holding very dear their little local authority, the civic potentates, almost everywhere, were flattered by the prospect of increasing their power, under the Parliamentary *régime;* and the preaching of Puritan ministers had more strongly influenced men in masses, as other contagions do, than those in the country.[2] Accordingly, when the loyal Earl arrived, he found Coventry in a very excited state. The King had arrived the night before (19th August), at Stoneleigh Abbey, within four miles of their city, and had just announced to the mayor and corporation that he should dine with them on that day.[3] The Earl vainly endeavoured to inspire the citizens with a loyalty that was out of fashion; he was treated so roughly by the people, that he was fain to escape, and rejoin his forces at Southam, where he hoped to make a juncture with the royal cavalry under Wilmot.

Meanwhile the King set forth from Stoneleigh Abbey with a very slender escort, and rode towards

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[1] Coventry Archives. [2] Baxter's Works, 40, 42.

[3] This appeal to the hospitality of corporations the King seems to have placed great reliance on: he had tried it in London, on the occasion of attempting to seize the Five Members; again he had invited himself to dinner at Hull, and finally at Coventry.

Coventry. This famous old city contained 9500 souls, a population which then entitled it to rank, at least, in the third class of English towns:[1] it was surrounded by a wall, three miles in length, and strengthened by twenty-six towers:[2] a large park extended for a mile and a half towards Warwick, and a fine old elm-tree, that once stood within its bounds, is still called "Rupert's tree."[3] When the King approached the city, he learned that its gates were closed, and walls manned, as against an enemy. Some cavaliers spurred on, and demanded admission in the King's name: a discharge of artillery was the reply, and half-a-dozen of the challengers' horses were knocked over, their riders being severely wounded. It was now determined to force an entrance, and a despatch was sent hastily to

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[1] The present population is estimated at 35,000 [31,230 in census of 1841], presenting probably an equal ratio with the increased population of England since the visit of the King. I am indebted for this and other information to the MSS. annals, in the archives of Coventry, and to the courtesy and kirdness of friends residing in its neighbourhood.

[2] These defences were levelled by order of Charles II.

[3] Under its shade, according to tradition, the Prince stood whilst he summoned old Coventry in the following year. Mr. Thomas Forest was then mayor, and Richard Baxter the chief preacher: he there took the covenant to his great repentance. This divine gives us the following account of the garrison:—"It consisted half of citizens and half of countrymen. One or two persons came among us of Sir Henry Vane's party, and one Anabaptist tailor, who had almost troubled all the garrison by infecting all the soldiers with their opinions."—*Life*, p. 46. Coventry was very proud of a Parliament (called the "indoctum," from having no lawyers,) which was held here by Henry IV.

Nottingham for petards:[1] meanwhile, the King returned to Stoneleigh Abbey for the night.[2]

Whilst awaiting the arrival of his dispatch, the King received intelligence that Colonel Ballard and the dreaded Hampden were marching, at the head of three thousand men, to relieve Coventry. At the same time, Lord Northampton requested that Wilmot, with his eight hundred horse, might join his forces under Sir Nicholas Byron, and harass, if not cut off, the Roundheads on their march. Wilmot was accordingly dispatched to form the desired junction; but his unwillingness to receive orders from Byron, although his senior in command, proved fatal to the expedition. The King, from a rising ground in the old Park, could trace the march of

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[1] See *olim*, p. 110, note.

[2] Sir Thomas Lee* was then the proprietor of this grand old abbey. Sir Thomas was a gallant and faithful Loyalist, and suffered accordingly in after times. Lord Leigh has a fine portrait of King Charles, which was discovered by Sir G. Hayter, under a painting of a group of flowers. The painter's penetrating eye detected that this was a mere mask, and, by careful rubbing, he released the King's portrait from long imprisonment. The danger must have been great, when the old proprietor, justly proud of his monarch's visit, was thus obliged to conceal such a memorial. At Stoneleigh there is also a fine picture of the King's host himself; he is dressed in a "sad-coloured" robe, and points with his finger to a skull. Both these pictures seem to date themselves; the one, by its concealment, proves that Sir Thomas died before the Restoration; the other, that his own portrait was taken about 1649.

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* Bulstrode, "Memoirs," p. 72. The name should be spel Leigh. Sir Thomas was created a baron by Charles in July 1643, by letters patent.—*Collins' Peerage*, vii. 116.

his enemies across the open "campania." They amounted only to one thousand two hundred infantry, and a troop of horse; yet they moved on with impunity. Every moment the King expected to see his horse bearing down on their unprotected flank, but in vain,

> "—— Oh! where was [Rupert] then?
> One blast of his brave trumpet
> Were worth a thousand men!"

Wilmot hovered round the enemy only long enough to suffer a semblance of repulse, and to lose the gallant Legge, who probably approached the enemy much nearer than his colonel thought advisable to do. He was taken prisoner, and carried in triumph into Coventry, where the Roundheads were welcomed with loud triumph; while Wilmot drew off his cavalry under many insults and some firing from the citizens. The King retired to Leicester, and there he found his long-absent nephew, RUPERT.

The Prince had hastened from Nottingham almost as soon as he had arrived, on hearing that his Horse were on service, and hoping to overtake the King at Coventry.[1] On his way, however, he learned that his Majesty was expected at Leicester, and so he had turned aside to meet him. He entered at one street, just as Wilmot arrived by an-

[1] See page 110; Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 188, note.

other,[1] after having afforded a signal proof how much the "impetuosity" of the Palatine was required in the royal army. The young General of Horse must have gazed ruefully at the handful of ill-equipped and undisciplined troopers that represented the royal cavalry of England, and constituted his high-sounding command. Some of them had only buff coats and hats; some only the cuirass and the steel-cap; none had any weapons but the sword. Rupert, however, was not of an age or of a nature to despair: his own proud young confidence soon realized its daring dreams, and, by the sympathy of brave natures, soon actuated every man of that devoted band that now defiled before him to their quarters. They were soon to find themselves resistless under his command, and were most of them to die beneath his banner.

The meeting between the King and his nephew was as happy as the circumstances attending it were unpromising.[2] The Prince, unless he had been in time to charge with Wilmot's horse, could not have arrived more opportunely. His royal uncle was grievously cast down by the events of the day before,[3] and the joyous and daring spirit of his nephew helped to inspire him with new hopes. That night they were the guests of the Countess of Devon, who sorely suffered afterwards for the

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[1] See page 110; Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 188, note.
[2] Benett MSS. [3] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 190.

hospitality she had shewn her King at Leicester Abbey.[1]

The next day (the 22nd August) being appointed for raising the standard, the King rode towards Nottingham, "very melancholy," as his own historian relates. He felt that he was about to make the great effort of his life; that he was about to make war upon his own subjects, and that, too, under the most inauspicious circumstances. His affront before Coventry appeared not only to the country but to himself like a defeat, and yet the approaching forces of the Parliament forbade him to wait for a more favourable moment. The standard must be raised without further delay, and with the natural impulse of precipitating an inevitable catastrophe, the doomed King pressed forward resolutely, however sadly, to his fate.

Well might he be "very melancholy;" well might the shadow of his soul's misfortune be dark upon that brow—that lofty brow, so familiar to our memory! How many of us can recollect our childish sympathy for the first time touched by the power of art, as we gazed upon the portrait of that mournful face: the innocent boyish enthusiasm that kindled within us as we heard from loyal lips of the wrongs and sufferings for which so many of our fathers died. It was only in after-years, when reluctantly forced to abandon the once literal creed of "kings can

1 History of Leicester, Hollings.

do no wrong," that we detected other characteristics besides those of nobleness and truth in the martyr monarch of Vandyke and the Cavaliers. Yet even then, when better read in the dark facts and darker calumnies that history reveals, we trace in those sad features the characters of weakness rather than of wickedness; the unerring signs of a vacillating mind are visible; and that high-arched brow and uncertain lip, the delicate soft hand that droops by his side with all the helpless grace of a girl, the very attitude in which he stands—all bespeak a spirit ill-calculated to encounter the storms of a State. It is not only after misfortune and disappointment had done their work, that these characteristics become visible in the portraits of Charles. From the very first, even when he sat to Velasquez during his romantic visit to romantic Spain, buoyed up by lusty youth and a bridegroom's hope—even then his portrait wears a sad, doomed look, as if he felt already destined to expiate the crimes and the follies of his tyrant ancestors.

Having accompanied the King of the Cavaliers so far towards his fatal goal—having endeavoured to extenuate nothing, nor set down aught in prejudice, it is time to consider what there was in this ill-fated monarch that, notwithstanding all his faults, attached so many of the best and bravest men of England, not only to his cause, but to his person.

No human character has ever been so rigorously scrutinized by cotemporaries and historians as that

of Charles the First. His public and private conduct have been exposed to every test and inquisition that the most malignant hatred could suggest, or the most subtle genius could invent. The greatest writers of our own day have exercised all their ingenuity, and practised all the easy but imposing art of denunciation upon this conspicuous theme. The Milton, the Pym, and other leading minds of his own time, sought out, as a matter of conscience and duty, how they could most bitterly malign him. Every sentence that admitted of a second meaning was perverted to his reproach; every action was distorted, exaggerated, exhibited in the darkest point of view, and immortalized in sublime invective. The glory of freedom was then the great theme of orator and poet; the crime of despotism was a necessary antithesis, and its attributed author was magnified into proportionally colossal guilt. Charles I. was identified with the principles that were then most obnoxious; he was driven forth, like the scapegoat of the Hebrews into the wilderness of reprobation, with the curses due to all others' crime heaped thickly upon his devoted head.

The very scurrility and bitterness of the party pamphlets of that unscrupulous and heated time have been ever since sustained, enlarged upon, and taken for truth by the anti-monarchical writers of a later period. Yet how little, comparatively, has this awful array of persecution and arraignment brought home against their victim, setting aside his one

great and inexcusable vice of insincerity, which he mistook for policy and state-craft necessity. Grievous and many wrongs indeed he wrought against the liberties of England; fatally he persevered in the prejudices instilled into his youth concerning king-craft, divine right, and royal prerogative; and terribly he atoned for these his errors. Nevertheless, when we peruse, even as chronicled by his enemies, his words, his letters, his expressions; when we observe his patience, his undaunted spirit, his piety, his long-suffering, and his redeeming death, we are forced to acknowledge that there was somewhat of righteous and heroic in this much-vilified monarch; something, apart from the high sentiment of loyalty, that justified the devotion of his followers; and that, in the world of truth to come, will confute the worst accusations of his enemies. Unhappy in his time, his reign, his circumstances, his friends, his enemies,—he was still more unhappy in that which gave evil power to them all —the fatal facility and weakness so often and so pertinaciously misconstrued into perfidy and crime.

I have hitherto in these pages spoken of Charles as a king whose errors were almost equal in number to his political acts, and whose insincerity rendered all those errors irretrievable. My history henceforth will be almost purely personal and military, relating only to the Cavaliers, and to the King as their chief head and nominal leader. Henceforth I have only to detail his transient triumphs and

defeats, his patient "pilgrimage," as one of his enemies expressed it,[1] "through a labyrinth of sorrows whose issue was the grave."

Therefore, in resuming my narrative, I only see in that "melancholy" man who is now before us a brave, and pious, and most unfortunate prince: who has an arduous but brief career to run before he obtains his final rest upon the scaffold, to which fanatics, hypocrites, and traitors have consigned him. No wonder that his look was now sadder "than was usual:" his feet had never been swift to shed blood,[2] and he was now about to wage war (to use the words of his fondly-prized and noble liturgy) upon the people "whom God had committed to his charge." The raising of the standard was no mere ceremony, like that of a coronation or a lord-mayor's show; it at once let loose the spirit of war to ravage and lay waste the household hearths and fertile fields of merry England. From that time forward the whole nation was to be either Cavalier or Roundhead for life or death: there was to be no neutral ground, no peace, no compromise.

The sadness of the King is said to have extended to all his followers, though gaiety is associated in our minds with the very name of Cavalier. In truth they had from first to last but little cause for gaiety: all the peril of the war, save that of life and limb, was theirs; they had nothing to gain by

[1] Lilly, Life and Times, before quoted.
[2] Even Lilly says of him "that he was averse to blood."

victory, and everything to lose by defeat. With the Roundhead party the case was very different: the better and more honest sort, the patriots and fanatics, believed that on them devolved the high mission of ennobling this kingdom of England, and fashioning it into the likeness of a kingdom not made with hands; the worst part, the men of desperate fortunes, and the hypocrites, rejoiced in the hope of spoiling the rich mansions of the nobles and the "steeple-houses of the priests of Baal." Notwithstanding these different causes of hope and fear, the Cavalier *was* ever distinguished by his brave cheerfulness or giddy gaiety; the Puritan, by his sour looks and ungracious demeanour. At first the Cavalier had only the natural high spirit of his caste to sustain his heartiness, a tide of unexpected and brief success made it a fashion or a habit, and afterwards the very desperation of his circumstances promoted a recklessness which wore the same appearance. The different temper of the two parties was displayed in everything: although identical, for the most part, in race, language, and apparel, it was impossible for a moment to mistake a Roundhead for a Cavalier. Each wore the short cloak, the doublet, the high shoe, or the heavy boot; each cultivated the beard and the mustachio; yet, so distinctly did the inward man impress the character of his party upon his exterior, that Cavaliers, assuming the style of dress and demeanour of Puritans, could wear them as disguise, and

vice versâ. The Puritan, while he abhorred the very name of a steeple, adopted its peculiarity of form in his hat; deeply impressed with the unloveliness of lovelocks, he cropped his own as closely as possible; a fashion, however, which soon expired. The face of the Roundhead was unnaturally elongated by his elaborate gravity, and a scarcely-visible collar, such as the Roman Catholic priests wear now, promoted the lengthiness of the physiognomy surmounting it. The rest of his dress was square and prim, not unlike that of our old-fashioned Quakers, except that linen was nowhere visible; their small-clothes were worn short, and fitted tightly to the knee; and their very swords seemed more stiff and straight than ordinary. At first, when these quaint and precise personages were almost invariably routed by the gay Royalists, their appearance as fugitives must have been eminently ludicrous; but afterwards, when, by acquiring the discipline that the Cavaliers disdained, they became the conquerors, there was something terrible in the formal and ceremonious manner in which these dark fanatics carried on the work of death.

Very different in dress, manner, and general bearing, are those now approaching Nottingham, with their pensive King. However unfavourable the aspect of their affairs, no one could doubt that hope, or at least a high purpose, predominated in the hearts of those whose plumed hats were set on with such a defiant air. Long flowing locks descended

from beneath their hats, or helmets, and one long tress especially, waved over the left shoulder. Lace collars, curiously rich, and of wide extent, spread over the buff-coat or bright cuirass; a brilliant scarf, embroidered by some fair, inspiring hand, was sashed across the breast; fringed trousers descended far below the knee, and merged into large cavalry boots, armed with formidable spurs. A straight and narrow sword, with basket-hilt, hung from an ornamented belt worn over the shoulder, and one or two pistols, or a petronel, completed their equipment.[1]

Such was the ordinary costume of the Cavaliers at the outbreak of the war; there was no pretension to uniformity beyond the general style of dress; and more or less armour appears to have been used, according to the fancy of each wearer. As the use of fire-arms became more general and perfect, armour fell proportionably into disuse. We find, indeed, that Charles himself appeared at the battle of Edgehill "sheathed from head to heel in a panoply of steel,"[2] and many portraits of the time have come down to us in the same chivalric garb: it appears, however, to have been used rather in ceremony and parade than for active service in the field.[3] The common trooper wore generally the

[1] The military equipment of this era is spoken of more fully in the second volume, in describing the general muster at Shrewsbury.

[2] Trials of the Regicides.

[3] Munro (in his "Discipline of the Swede") says truly, that "men wear not armour because they are afraid of danger, but

basnet, or steel cap, with breast and back-piece forming a cuirass; but the officers of note for the most part wore the plumed hat throughout the war. Thus the array that now followed the King into Nottingham was as wanting in uniformity of appearance as in discipline: but the same mind was in the breast of most of them. In that extreme hour of trial few waverers were with their King. Loyalty was then no tame instinct; it was stimulated into a passion, such as afterwards, perhaps, was only found among the Pretender's followers. Whatever it was, it was ennobling to all but the reptiles of the Court, who engendered the corruption that they thrived on.

But among those awaiting the King's arrival, at Nottingham, and forming his council there, were grave and thoughtful men, who contemplated the raising of the standard with very different feelings. Such men as Falkland, Southampton, Sunderland,[1]

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because they would not fear it." Sir Philip Sidney owed his death at Zutphen to laying aside "his cuisses because he saw the Mareschal de Camp do the like." I believe the Cavaliers wore armour less than the Roundheads, but it is only from incidental circumstances that I know even of the latter. Ludlow says, in his "Memoirs," that he had a wonderful escape, because he got into a *mêlée* without his "sute of arms," and he says he was obliged to "walk about all night at Edgehill to keep him warm, having nothing but his 'sute of iron' to cover him" (Basil). Lord Denbigh's papers contain his armourer's bill, in which he is charged for a "complete sute." At Worcester fight and Roundway Down the Puritans' armour is spoken of as "impenetrable."

[1] Henry Spencer, first Earl of Sunderland, was the first born son of William, second Lord Spencer, and was born at Althorpe,

and probably even Mr. Hyde at that period, looked upon the King's cause only as a less bitter alternative than that of the Parliament. They still

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in Northamptonshire, 1620. In 1639, he was married at Penshurst, in Kent, to Lady Dorothy Sidney, the Sacharissa of Waller. His talents and his character were such, that each of the great parties which at this time divided the kingdom, desired to secure his support. At first he espoused the popular side, but soon took leave of the Parliament, and followed the King to York. His correspondence with his wife, as given in Sydney's "State Papers," throws a bright light on his own and her character, too much contrasted, as both were, with those who formed the royal Court in general. Lloyd describes him as "a good patriot * * standing by his Majesty as he evidently saw him stand for his kingdom; saying, by a foresight and prospect that he had of things suitable to the eminence of his place, that 'one seven years would shew that the King was the true Common's wealth's-man.' * * A true nobleman that was virtuous, because it became him, as well as because it was enjoined him; being above all vice as well as without it; looking upon it as his shame and dishonour, as well as sin and offence; a good neighbour; the country about him, when he had occasion to make use of it, being his friend that loved him, rather than his slave that feared him; a discreet landlord, finding ways to improve his land rather than rack his tenants; a noble housekeeper, wherein that ingenuity he was master of himself was welcome in others; an honest patron, seldom furnishing a church with an incumbent till he had consulted the college he had been of, and the bishop he lived under; an exemplary master of a family, observing exactly the rules he so strictly enjoined; consecrating his house as a temple, where he ordered his followers to wrestle with God in prayer, while he wrestled with the enemy in fight."

The following remarkable letter belongs to a later date, but may well be inserted here.

LETTER FROM THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO HIS WIFE.*

Dated "Shrewsbury, Sept. 21, 1642.

"My dearest Heart,

"The King's condition is much improved of late: his force increaseth daily, which increaseth the insolency of the Papists.

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* Sydney's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 667.

clung to the hope that the prospects appalling in the eyes of each party, might be resolved into one, hopeful for both; and so, no doubt, they might have been, had the Parliamentary leaders been temperate, dispassionate, honest, and patriotic. As regarded the Lords, the King's party might well compare the moral, intellectual, and heroic natures, of those we have just mentioned; together with those of Richmond, Hertford, and Northampton, as contrasted with the debauched and sanctimonious

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How much I am unsatisfied with the proceedings here, I have at large expressed in several letters; neither is there wanting daily handsome occasion to retire, were it not for gaining honour; for, let occasion be never so handsome, unless a man were resolved to fight on the Parliament side, which (for my part I had rather be hanged) it will be said, without doubt, that a man is afraid to fight. If there could be an expedient found to salve the punctilio of honour, I would not continue here an hour. The discontent that I and other honest men receive daily, is beyond expression. People are much divided. The King is of late very much averse to peace, by the persuasions of 202 and 111.* It is likewise conceived that the King has taken a resolution not to do anything that way before the Queen comes, for people addressing the King to agree with the Parliament, was the reason of the Queen's return. Till that time no advice will be received; nevertheless the honest men will take all occasions to procure an accommodation, *which the King, when he sent those messages, did heartily desire,* and would still make offers in that way, but for 202, 111, and the expectation of the Queen, and the fear of the Papists, who threaten people of 342. I fear Papists have a much greater influence upon the King than upon 343. What the King's intentions are to those that I converse with, are utterly unknown. Some say he will hazard a battle very quickly; others say he thinks of 104, as it is suspected, so if it were generally believed, Sunderland and many others would make no scruple to retire, for I think it as far from gallant either to starve with the King, or to do worse, as to avoid fighting."

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* Cyphers, I believe, for Rupert and Digby.

Warwick, the coxcomb Holland, the coward Wharton, and the lukewarm Northumberland and Bedford.[1] With respect to the Commons, we have, unfortunately, little means of comparison, as those who went over to the King, were not, it seems, with the exception of Hyde and Culpepper, of sufficient rank to approach his person, or his councils. But the men who belonged to the peace-party in the Parliament, at Westminster, may proudly challenge a comparison with any of their "root and branch" antagonists: the wise and eloquent Sir Benjamin Rudyard, the venerable Selden whose name is identified with constitutional law, the impetuous but honest Holles; add to these, Pierpoint, Philips, and the candid Whitelocke. These men might oppose and refute the reasonings of Pym and Vane, and their associates, but they could not render them magnanimous; they could not calm the stormy elements of fanaticism, of rabble rout and revolution, that the democrats had conjured up, to assist their power.[2] Gradually the tone, and conduct, and

[1] Essex, Kimbolton, Brooke, and Fielding, it is true, were better men: the first two recoiled from their party; the third did not live to see their real character, and the last deplored it.

[2] "They had per mitted thepopulace to mingle in their discussions, testifying pleasure at its paltry applause, and encouraging its tumultuous aggressions on the minority of the legislature." So speaks Mr. Hallam. It is curious and instructive to observe the sameness of revolutionary incident, of which this present year of grace, 1848, has witnessed more than the whole history of Europe can supply. The first able demagogues (in some instances starting with noble and honest views) are shot up by the popular explosion into the height of power; they are then forced to pander to the pas-

character of the Parliamentary leaders degenerated from the high standard that uncompromising truth and honour had formed; they became daily more assimilated to that of the popular passions whereon they thrived.[1] They were resolved to have no King. It is too true, that Charles had proved a dangerous one; and that when, "all measures of precaution had been taken against the Sovereign, it was necessary to take new precautions against King Charles."[2] But Charles was no longer dangerous; he was even now manacled by such constitutional restrictions as Europe had seen no example of; still more so by the necessity of preserving the goodwill of those who had opposed him before they became his supporters, and who were ready to do so again, if

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sions that have sent them there, and can only maintain or increase their perilous power by the same means with which Michael Scott obtained a respite from the demons he had conjured up: the moment they can no longer engross the attention of their slaves they are destroyed by them. Pym and Hampden died while the dupes of their glorious promises were still dreaming of glory; but their associates were obliged, as Mr. Hallam remarks, "to submit to that physical strength which is the ultimate arbiter of political contentions."

Yet even Pym lived to hear the very voices he had once welcomed, when he spoke of vengeance on the King, come howling for his own sacrifice. A number of the wives of substantial citizens came clamouring to the door of the House of Commons with an oft-repeated petition for peace: "Give us the traitor Pym!" shouted the revolution-taught viragoes; "Give us the dog Pym, that we may tear him in pieces!"—*Rushworth.* He was then on his death-bed.—*Forster*, ii. 294.

[1] Pym confessed the sources of his power when he quoted against Sir Edward Deering, "*Flectere si Superos nequeo, Acheronta movebo.*"

[2] Lord John Russell.

occasion required.[1] It is my task to speak of the now Royal party as men of common sense, at least; and it seems necessary to account for their dislike and opposition to those who claimed to themselves all championship of religion, patriotism, and law. I shall guard myself, however, from the charge of adopting their biassed views, by quoting only from their own authorities, as to the light in which the characters of their chief leaders might be made to appear even in that day. I do not speak of the great and good and heroic efforts by which the Constitution was restored and strengthened: the men who undertook and accomplished that task, have a fame that will live for ever, and that even their after errors can scarcely darken. But when they made themselves an absolute oligarchy, possessed of an all-grasping power, until they chose to abdicate it; when they proceeded to prostitute the name of freedom to the most tyrannical and arbitrary acts, and that of religion to the most cruel intolerance:[2] —when we consider these manifold offences,

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[1] But it was kingship, not the King, that the Roundheads were about to fight against: Henry Marten, himself a regicide, declared that "if he *must* have a king, he had as lief have the last gentleman as any one he knew."

[2] "Witness," says Mr. Hallam, "the ordinance for disarming recusants passed by both Houses in August, 1641, and that in November, authorising the Earl of Leicester to raise men for the defence of Ireland without warrant under the great seal, both manifest encroachments on the executive power; and the enormous extension of privilege, under which every person accused on the slightest testimony of disparaging their proceedings, or even of introducing new-fangled ceremonies in the Church, a matter

it is not as Whig, Tory, Loyalist, or Roundhead, but as men and Englishmen, that we denounce their pretensions and their guilt. That dispassionate men of the same party, in these remoter days, are obliged to admit many of the charges brought by Royal partizans in that excited time, is, in itself, remark-

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wholly out of their cognizance, was dragged before them as a delinquent and lodged in their prison. Witness the outrageous attempts to intimidate the minority of their own body in the commitment of Mr. Palmer, and afterwards of Sir Ralph Hopton, to the Tower, for such language used in debate as would not have excited any observation in ordinary times; their continual encroachments on the rights and privileges of the Lords, as in their intimation that, if bills thought by them necessary for the public good should fall in the Upper House, they must join with the minority of the Lords in representing the same to the King; or in the impeachment of the Duke of Richmond for words, and those of the most trifling nature, spoken in the Upper House; their despotic violation of the rights of the people, in imprisoning those who presented or prepared respectful petitions in behalf of the established Constitution, while they encouraged those of a tumultuous multitude at their bar in favour of innovation; their usurpation at once of the judicial and legislative powers in all that related to the Church, particularly by their committee for scandalous ministers, under which denomination, adding reproach to injury, they subjected all who did not reach the standard of Puritan perfection to contumely and vexation, and ultimately to expulsion from their lawful property. Witness the impeachment of the twelve bishops for treason, on account of their protestation against all that should be done in the House of Lords during their compelled absence through fear of the populace; a protest not perhaps entirely well expressed, but abundantly justifiable in its argument by the plainest principles of law. These great abuses of power, becoming daily more frequent as they became less excusable, would make a sober man hesitate to support them in a civil war wherein their success must not only consummate the destruction of the Crown, the Church, and the Peerage, but expose all who had dissented from their proceedings, as it ultimately happened, to an oppression less severe, perhaps, but far more sweeping, than that which had rendered the Star-Chamber odious."—*Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 551.

able; but that such charges are confirmed against the democratic party, by their own associates, is still more so. I give the following quotations, from the latter, with the less reluctance, as Hampden's honourable name is not assailed; he had long since found shelter in the quiet bosom of the land he served so well. We shall suppose the Cavaliers all crushed or slain, their King slaughtered, their Church and ritual replaced by conventicles, rant, and cant,[1] in every variety, with every strange form of dissent:[2] the Roundheads, in short, triumphant, and dividing the spoil of the "sons of Belial," and

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[1] This word was unknown, it seems to me, before the Civil Wars: one of the most hateful in our vocabulary, it was the name of one of the Scotch Presbyterian divines, who visited London on a political and proselytizing mission. Andrew Cant and his son Alexander made their names sufficiently notorious, I presume, to create the epithet. It is not used by Clarendon, Warwick, or, I believe, by any writer of this date; but Hudibras, who has everything, says,—

"And till they first began to cant
And sprinkle down the covenant."

[2] "Never were there so many different sects and religions in any nation," says Dr. Gray, "as were then in England." Mr. Case told the Parliament, in his thanksgiving-sermon for the taking of Chester, "That there was such a numerous increase of errors and heresies, that he blushed to repeat what some had affirmed, namely, 'That there were no less than an hundred and fourscore several heresies propagated and spread in the neighbouring city (London);' and many of such a nature," adds this distinguished Presbyterian minister, "as I may truly say, in Calvin's language, 'The errors and innovations under which they groaned of late years were but *tolerable trifles, children's play*, compared with these damnable doctrines of devils."

Mr. Ford, also a Parliamentary preacher, in the year 1653, in his assize sermon at Reading, said, "That in the little town of Reading, he was verily persuaded, if Augustin's and Epiphanius's

the "priests of Baal." Then it was they began to discover that there were other enemies to the Commonwealth (that is to say, to themselves) than the "malignants," and, in short, that each fellow-conqueror was, more or less, of an impostor. Then they began to accuse one another, in more bitter and severe terms than the Cavaliers had ever used against them; and the latter require from their candid biographer the justice of mentioning some of these published opinions. The Presbyterians will accept the authority of Fairfax, of Holles, and their champion, Clement Walker; the Republicans, that of Vane and Ludlow; and the Cromwellists, that of their great apostle, concerning this long Parliament, and the character of its chief leaders. To these testimonies, in the note below, I shall add Mr. Macaulay's picture of those whom our Cavaliers are about to contend with.[1]

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catalogues of heresies were lost, and all their modern and ancient records of that kind, yet it would be no hard matter to restore them, with considerable enlargements, from that place: that they have *Anabaptism, Familism, Socinianism, Pelagianism, Ranting,* and what not; and that the devil was served in heterodox assemblies as frequently as God in theirs; and that one of the most eminent Church livings in that county [the Church of England clergy had been ejected] was possessed by a blasphemer, one in whose house, he believed some there could testify, that the devil was visibly familiar as any one of the family."

[1] I do not pretend or wish to bring a railing accusation against the Parliamentary leaders, still less do I pretend to arraign their conduct by all the authority of their own party that could be brought to bear against them. I only quote a few sentences to prove that the character of those whose pretensions soared so high was as open to attack and as fallible as that of the Cavaliers, whom the revolutionists and their supporters have fallen foul of,

If these were the qualities that the Puritan party discovered in each other when brought to maturity,

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with much of the rancorous party-spirit of their own bitter time.

Thus the brave and honest Fairfax writes concerning his associates: "Alas! when I bring to mind the sad consequences that crafty and designing men have brought to pass since those first innocent undertakings, I am ready to let go that confidence I once had with God .... and say with Job, 'Why did I not die?' ... The mercies that we received were soon clouded with abominable hypocrisies, even in those men who had been instrumental in bringing that war to a conclusion..... The factious carried on their design of raising their own fortunes upon the public ruin." —*A short Memorial of Thomas Lord Fairfax, Maseres,* 421–2.

Denzil Holles thus speaks of his former associates, when *they* became possessed exclusively of the power from which he was exiled: "The wisest of men saw it to be a great evil, 'that servants should ride on horses;' an evil now both seen and felt in this unhappy kingdom. The meanest of men, the basest and vilest of the nation, have got the power into their hands; trampled upon the Crown; baffled and misused the Parliament [*i. e.* Holles's part of it]; violated the laws; destroyed or suppressed the nobility and gentry of the kingdom; *oppressed the liberties of the people* in general; broke in sunder all bands and ties of religion, conscience, faith, duty, loyalty, and good manners; cast off all fear of God and man; and now lord it over the persons and estates of all sorts and ranks of men, from the King upon his throne to the beggar in his cottage: making their wills their law; their power their rule; their hair-brained, giddy, and fanatical, and the setting up of a Babel of confusion, the end of all their actions..... As the devil can transform himself into an angel of light, so they pretended zeal in religion and to the public spirit, as if none were so holy and self-denying as they, and so they insinuated themselves into the good opinion of men." This was written by Holles within six short years of the opening of the war. I have taken the first paragraph of his memoirs.—*Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles,* 1648, p. 1.

A few months later, Clement Walker, "a gentleman of great learning and ability, and a zealous defender of the Presbyterian party" (in the Long Parliament), thus writes:*—"This incen-

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* The Mysteries of the Two Juntoes; London, 1648. Reprinted in Maseres' Tracts, p. 323.

it may be supposed that the Cavaliers did not hold them in much better estimation even before the

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tive, working upon the human frailty of the leading and speaking members of the Houses, caused them, first, to interweave their particular interests and ambitions with the public welfare, and, lastly, to prefer them before the public welfare .... They began to advance their projects of monopolizing the profits, preferments, and powers of the kingdom in themselves ... to which end [though seeming to maintain a hot opposition], when any profit or preferment is to be reached at, it is observed that some powerful Independent will move for it for a Presbyterian, or a leading Presbyterian for an Independent..... By such artifices the grandees of each side share the commonwealth between them. .... There hath been lately given away to members openly (besides innumerable and inestimable private cheats mutually connived at), at least 300,000*l.* in money, besides such offices." So speaks gravely, in 1648, one of the able men who were urging forward the revolution in 1642, and cheering on to the work the very men he here speaks of. Ludlow, at a much earlier period in the war, speaks of his "own party, every one striving to enlarge his own power in a factious and ambitious way, not caring how much they thereby obstructed and ruined the cause itself."*

Vane, in his own shrouded and cautious manner, implies that latterly "God [whose great name, he says a little before, was concerned in the cause] seemed to have stood still, and be as a looker on,"† but that He could still revive it "when secondary instruments fail[ed] or prove[d] deceitful." He proceeds to lament that the "compacted body [of the Parliament, amongst whom were most, if not all, his old associates] was now falling asunder into many dissenting parts, ... something rising up

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* Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Esq., Lieutenant-General of the Horse, one of the Council of State, and a Member of the Parliament which began on the Nov. 3, 1640. Switzerland, 1698.

† The Deity was very irreverently used in these men's language: after a defeat one of these preachers said, "That God had spit in their faces." Mr. Bond, one of these presumptuous saints, preaching at the Savoy, told his auditors, "That they ought to contribute and pray, and do all they were able to bring about their brethren of Scotland, for settling of God's cause: I say this is God's cause, and if our God hath any *cause* this is it; and if this be not God's cause, then God is no God for me; but the devil is got up into heaven."—*Vide Sir W. Dugdale.*

war. The Cavaliers were reproached by the Roundheads with the vices of their basest comrades—

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that seems rather accommodated to the private and selfish interest of a particular part, "than to the common good." But of all others, "Cromwell was the Achan who had taken of the accursed thing."* Cromwell, on the other hand, had asserted that "the Lord had done with Sir Harry, and chosen honester and worthier instruments for carrying on his work;" for that, in fact, this Sir Harry "was a juggler, and had not common honesty." Henry Cromwell, moreover, whom all agree to have been an honest and able man, describes Vane "as one of the most rotten members of the community."—*Thurloe*, iv. 509. But on the memorable 20th of April, 1653, when this Long Parliament suffered the fate collectively that almost all the demagogues of history have suffered individually, when they were overmastered by the spirit they had themselves conjured up;—on that day the chief destroyers of the Church and King of England received their brief but pithy characters from their great master. "Begone!" said he, as he kicked the Rump out of the seats they had usurped from the people for at least a dozen years: "Begone! and give place to honester men!" Then, as they passed out, he designated each reformer whose talent or influence was worth immortalizing: there was Henry Marten, licentious amongst women; Peter Wentworth, an adulterer; Alderman Allen, an embezzler of public monies; Challoner, a drunkard; Whitelocke, grossly unjust; and as for Sir Harry Vane, whose subtle character evaded even his active grasp, he could only pray to be saved from him. "The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" is an ejaculation more descriptive than volumes could define, of the vague and uncertain dangerousness of that man who proposed to substitute the dreamy republic that even Boston had rejected with contempt, for the ancient constitution of our England.

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* "A Healing Question propounded and resolved, upon Occasion of the late public and seasonable Call to Humiliation, in order to Love and Union among the honest Party, and with a Desire to apply Balm to the Wound before it become incurable. By Henry Vane, Knight; London, 1656." Mr. Forster has, with his usual candour, quoted the above and similar passages, and with his usual ingenuity endeavoured to prove Sir Harry a lucid and luminous speaker.

such as Goring and Lunsford; while the Puritans claimed for themselves the exclusive worship and protection of heaven. Pym was as fond of wine and its concomitants as the freest Cavalier amongst them all; and his intrigue with Lady Carlisle was notorious. Henry Marten was a free-thinker and a libertine; Warwick, Wharton, and Pembroke, were notorious evil-livers; and Holland and others were little better.[1] No wonder that the Cavaliers refused to accept the monopoly of vice, faction, and irreligion. Those among them who had not belonged to the Patriot side had been suppressed and cautious as long as the Parliament preserved its purity and nobleness; but when the ruling portion of the Commons sank into a party, contracting all the vices and meanness that follow upon falsehood, they left the Parliament for the least tyrannical party of the two. Or, if they had always belonged to it, they then held up their heads and triumphed in their former principles. With the blood of the old barons of Runnymede still flowing in their veins; with the chivalry of the "Arcadia" still kindling in their imagination; with all the proud prejudices of

[1] Nor were the soldierly vices, as well as violences, confined to the officers and leading men among the Puritans: one of themselves, in a *pæan* over the sack of Winchester by the Roundheads, thus relates some of the events:—

> "There many black coats got a desperate fall,
> But chiefly those men styled canonicall,
> They made such work with them *and with their wives*
> As made them weary of their lives."
>
> *King's Collect. Brit. Mus.* vi. 14.

their ancestors, now strengthened by their own, concerning the ancient monarchy of England, the nobler Cavaliers were in no mood to bow their proud heads at the footstool of "King Pym."[1] Among them were many earnest and devout men,[2] to whom their Church was as dear as ever conventicle was to Puritan, and these Cavaliers were by no means content to see their venerable Cathedrals demolished or profaned, their churches desecrated,[3] their hierarchy reviled and outcast, their clergy replaced by ferocious and ignorant "divines." They were proud of their country, even as she

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[1] This term, applied in mockery by the Royalists, was not offensive in the Roundheads' ears: in the rhymed petition of the players on not being allowed to act, they promise not

"To personate King Pym with his state fleet."
Forster, ii. 275.

Robert Browning, in his noble tragedy of "Strafford," has applied to Pym the same term.

[2] Witness the solemn and religious tone of every State paper issued from the Court at this time: no hierarchy could have spoken in more solemn and "God-fearing" language.

[3] Already many painted windows and much exquisite architecture had been destroyed by fanaticism: we shall soon find the Roundheads at Lichfield and elsewhere hunting cats through cathedrals with hounds to mimic the choristers; stabling their horses and defiling the venerable walls with the utmost degree of brutal ingenuity. Among the bishops and clergy of this time were Usher, Jeremy Taylor, Hall, Prideaux,, and other still venerated names. Milton says of the Puritanical divines: "They who so lately preached and cried down with great show of zeal the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates, now set sail to all the winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms."—*Prose Works*, ii. 896. They, too, established a Ritual, meagre and cold it may be well conceived, as it was to please, or rather not to displease, so many passions: the "Assembly of Divines" was chosen, each man according to the fancy of some Member of Parliament.

stood then among the nations; they were not willing to sacrifice the gentle and chivalric principles that had made her so, to a democratic spirit abhorring every quality that rose above its own low level.

Moreover, there was little to conciliate or attract in the gloomy and severe deportment or affectation of the Puritans. There was as little of Christian charity as of grace in their sentiments.[1] They held toleration to be "soul-murder," and they looked upon Roman Catholics as in a far worse state than Mahometans: and with all this stern and repellent profession and demeanour, there was something so ludicrous combined, as utterly to destroy its sublimity to the outward sense. "The ostentatious simplicity of their dress," said the ablest of their defenders, long ago, "their sour aspect, their nasal twang, their stiff posture, their long graces, their Hebrew names, the Scriptural phrases which they introduced on every occasion, their contempt of human learning, their detestation of public amusements, were indeed fair game for the laughers."[2] I shall conclude this long digression with referring to a quotation already made from a great liberal historian, whose impartiality is beyond imputation.[3]

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[1] "An intemperate heat scorches up charity in one Church as well as in another; it everywhere lays waste the most amiable duties of Christianity."—*Hoadly*, fol. ed. ii. 622.

[2] Macaulay's Essays, i. 49.

[3] Hallam, Const. Hist. i. 363.

Such was the party[1] with whom our Cavaliers were about to contend for the great question as to whether the kingdom was to be ruled from above or from below; the former sanctioned by ancient precedent, under which England had grown great; the latter desired by a temporary enthusiasm, that soon reacted and contemptuously dashed down its once idolized Parliament from power. And yet, as I have before remarked, so righteously dear to many of the King's party was the nation's peace, that they were prepared to make any sacrifices for its preservation, short of that which would have made its preservation useless. These were the men whose well-meaning counsels obstructed the first military measures, and neutralized the effects of that energy which the King was now ready to display.

Such was the posture of affairs when the King rode into Nottingham with Prince Rupert by his side. The weather was wild and rough, and it was with difficulty the royal cavalcade made way against it: "he had before him the sad presage of his ill-success, as of a dark and dangerous storm, which never admitted his return to the port from whence

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[1] I have only quoted a few reproofs of them from their own most respectable authorities: it would be easy to fill volumes with abuse of them from the papers of their own time. Even Lilburn, the hater and victim of royalty, styles the Parliament "a company of pick-pockets," "robbers," "thieves," "brother beasts of Nebuchadnezzar," &c.

he had set out." These are his own solemn and touching words.[1]

The dismantled old castle of Nottingham received its King with appropriate gloom;[2] its dreary hall was filled with statesmen, courtiers, officers; all more or less armed, and all anxious for the momentous question to be decided — whether the Standard should be raised at once, or the ceremony postponed until it could be performed under more favourable auspices? The graver counsellors who still yearned for peace and trusted in some future chance, proposed delay; but the King, unable to bear longer suspense, refused it. Straightway the fatal Standard was then unfurled.

Lord Clarendon was there, and thus describes the event he witnessed: "There was little other ceremony than the sound of a few drums and trumpets; melancholy men observed many ill presages about that time. There was but one regiment of foot yet brought thither; so that the train-bands, which the sheriff had drawn together, were all the strength the King had for his person and the guard of his

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[1] Which Milton triumphs bitterly over in his "Eiconoclastes," vol. ii. p. 436, Lond. ed. 1806. In the preceding page, this man, so sublime as a poet, so meanly rancorous as a partizan, asserts that Charles was "much more criminal than Herod who was eaten of worms," because that the English King "likened his acts of grace to God's grace." The expression that so excites his ire is in the "Eikon Basilicon," wherein Charles (as Milton believed) says, "that the tumults threatened to abuse all [his] acts of grace!" The sentence above quoted is in the Eikon.

[2] Clarendon, iii.

Standard. There appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York, and a general sadness covered the whole town. The Standard was blown down the same night by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again for a day or two, until the tempest was allayed. This was the melancholy state of the King's affairs when the Standard was set up."[1]

The next day, however, the same ceremony was performed, although six men were obliged to support the flag-staff while the herald read the proclamation, and so again for the three days following. Indeed there was little else to be done; news came in but slowly of the levies in the west and south: the artillery was not yet arrived from York, and yet the King's position was not a little perilous. The Parliamentary forces, "horse, foot, and cannon," lay at Northampton, well-appointed and eager to be doing; and Sir Jacob Astley was in much fear lest the King should be taken prisoner as he slept.[2] To occupy the minds of his followers, probably, rather than for any other motive, the King then held a Chapter of the Order of the Garter, with such state as was practicable under the circumstances. This was to do honour to his young kinsman, Prince Rupert, and was well calculated to impart a chivalric character to the ceremony of the Standard. Charles, Prince

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 192.

[2] Ibid. p. 194.

of Wales, at the same time received the honour of the Garter.[1]

In the midst of the festival consequent on this installation, a messenger arrived in hot haste from Portsmouth, bearing a despatch from Goring. Its purport "almost struck the King to the heart;"[2] his worthless and unprincipled servant announced that he must surrender his all-important post in "very few days, except it were relieved:" and well he knew that relief was impossible. Lord Hertford, who alone could have afforded it, had been driven into Dorsetshire, and was himself besieged in Sherborne Castle.[3] Meanwhile the double traitor continued to wallow in debauchery, without making one effort to oppose the enemy. Lord Clarendon asserted that Goring had intended originally to hold out with firmness, "but when the King's power

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[1] This was the only Chapter ever held out of Windsor, and there were some informalities attending it, which required to be righted afterwards by the College of Heralds!—*King's Coll. Brit. Mus.*

[2] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 191, *note.*

[3] Lord Hertford's brave and active service must not be passed over in a paragraph. He had left the King at Beverley, and been ever since occupied in raising levies by the strength of his own popularity in Somersetshire. He was well received in that great county, all the "gentlemen of quality therein, except Popham and Horner," being favourable to him. Wells, "being a pleasant city and in the heart of the county," was recommended by them for his "lordship's residence." From hence he strove in a gentle and conciliatory manner to win favour for the Royal cause: he was sorely thwarted in his efforts by the enemy, who "taking advantage of the King's commission being *in Latin*, translated it as they pleased," and persuaded the wealthy but illiterate yeomen and tradespeople that the proclamation was

abated, the edge of his zeal was taken off, and he thought Portsmouth was too low a sphere for him to move in; and so he cared not to lose what he did not care to keep."[1]

It was, indeed, a heavy blow to Charles. He had precipitately raised the Standard, lured into that rash measure by his confidence in Goring's strength. Until he had so declared his purpose beyond recall,

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a most tyrannical and embezzling document. Their secret machinations were too powerful for the formal and open proceedings of the marquis, who had only three troops of horse and a company of foot to defend himself.* Unfortunately for him, Lord Pacolet and some twenty-five gentlemen soon came to his head-quarters, and controlled him in every active measure he undertook. So far Lord Clarendon. Soon afterwards, Sir John Stowell and others, with eighty horse and fourteen dragoons, charged and attacked Captain Preston, who had a hundred horse and six hundred foot, and routed them, killing seven and taking many prisoners.—*Ludlow*, p. 37; *Clar.* iii. 207. This skirmish is remarkable, as it is said to have furnished the first blood shed on the field during the war. Lord Hertford meanwhile, "with his great-spirited little army," had retired before the Earl of Bedford, Holles, and about seven thousand foot to the strong castle of Sherborne, where we leave him and them in a transient state of siege, waiting for the progress of events elsewhere.

[1] I must not omit the remainder of Lord Clarendon's observation. He continues: "And it were to be wished that there might be no more occasion to mention him after this repeated treachery; and that his incomparable dexterity and sagacity had not prevailed so far over those whom he had so often deceived, as to make it absolutely necessary to speak at large of him more than once before this discourse comes to an end."

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* Two of these troops were commanded by John Digby (Lord Bristol's son) and Sir Francis Hawley; the third, with which were a few dragoons, had been raised and equipped by Sir Ralph Hopton at his own charge. Colonel Henry Lunsford had raised the company of foot, amounting to 600 men.

the Parliament could scarcely have begun to act on the offensive, and every day of preparation, unmolested, was of the utmost importance to his cause. But now the die was cast; "the beginning of strife is as the letting out of waters;" he was well nigh overwhelmed. His council, less sanguine than himself, were less astounded by this blow; perhaps, secretly, scarcely regretted it. At all events they insisted, and with reason, that the most important object now was to recover the ground they had lost. They proposed, therefore, to open a new negotiation for an amicable arrangement with the Parliament; arguing that under any circumstances they should gain time; that they should cast the odium of refusing peace upon the Parliament; and that, after all, it was not utterly hopeless that the Parliament might accept their propositions. The King at length reluctantly consented. Lords Dorset, Southampton, with Sir John Colepepper, and Sir William Uvedale, undertook the dangerous office of ambassadors. They left Nottingham on the afternoon of the 25th, and reached London early the next morning.[1]

They were received haughtily by both Houses. Lord Southampton was not allowed to take his seat among the Peers, but was ordered to deliver his message to the Usher, and leave London forthwith. Sir John Colepepper met a similar reception from

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[1] Sir P. Warwick, 213; Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 204.

the Commons; and the ambassadors returned to Nottingham with such an answer as the King had foreseen.[1] Three days later, Lord Falkland was sent with another—an explanatory message, in which the King declared that "being desirous to avoid the diffusion of blood, he was willing to decline all

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[1] The following is the substance of the message and the reply. The King expressed himself to this effect:—"That he had with unspeakable grief of heart long beheld the distractions of the kingdom; that his very soul was full of anguish, until he could find some remedy to prevent the miseries which were ready to overwhelm this whole nation by a Civil War; that though all his endeavours tending to the composing of these unhappy difficulties had hitherto failed, he would not be discouraged from using any expedient which might lay a firm foundation of peace and happiness to all his good subjects. And in order to prevent the mistakes which had hitherto arisen in treating between himself and the Parliament, he had thought fit to propound that an equal number of fit persons might on each side be enabled to treat with such freedom of debate as might best tend to that happy conclusion, which all good men desire—the peace of the kingdom: that he promised every protection to such as might be sent, in case the place where he was should be chosen for the treaty, and presumed on the same care being shewn to those he should send, if they chose another place: that everything should be done on his part to advance the Protestant religion and secure the law of the land. If this proposition should be rejected, he had done his duty so amply, that God would absolve him from the guilt of any of the blood that should be spilt: that nothing but his desire to prevent the effusion of blood had begat this motion, as he was well provided with men, arms, and money to secure him from farther violence." The reply of Parliament was to the following effect:—"That they, with much grief, resented the dangerous and distracted state of the kingdom, which they had by all means endeavoured to prevent, but that, exceeding the ill counsels of any former age, the King had issued several proclamations against both Houses of Parliament, declaring their actions treasonable and their persons traitors, and had thereupon set up his Standard; and that until those proclamations were recalled and the Standard taken down, they could not, by the fundamental privileges of Parliament, or with the general good and

memory of former bitterness;" that he never intended to declare the Parliament traitors, or to set up his Standard against them, much less to put them and the kingdom out of his protection. [What all this meant is not easy to conceive, yet it was probably suggested by Falkland, as he bore the message.] "And that if they would recall their declarations against all persons as traitors for assisting him [the King], he would with all cheerfulness do the same, and take down his Standard."[1] The document concluded by expressing his desire for a treaty. The Parliament echoed the King's demand, insisting that the royal declarations, traitor epithets, and obnoxious Standard, should be suppressed before they would enter into any terms. With this reply Lord Falkland returned to the King.

Prince Rupert and the more warlike Cavaliers triumphed in these replies, the purport of which they had prophesied.[2] But those who had advised the negotiation also triumphed in the favour that the royal cause had gained by the exhibition of so anxious a desire on the King's part for peace. Henceforth the levies went on rapidly, and the wavering gentry, seeing that all hope of compromise was at an end, displayed their national firm (when once formed) resolution. The King, after many years of error and impolicy, had latterly been sorely

safety of the kingdom, give his Majesty any other answer to his message."

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 213. [2] Ibid. p. 217.

tried: he had gone through the ordeal with courage and magnanimity, and now his cause was, at all events, the least objectionable. From that time forth, nineteen-twentieths of the gentlemen of England were Cavaliers.

At Nottingham all was now changed: the energy of desperation succeeded to the restless indolence of suspense. The tide had begun to turn for the King; every trooper that now entered the castle brought some better news, on which still better hopes were founded; the artillery arrived from York; preparations were made to advance towards the south; the King appeared in a new character, displaying extraordinary talents for business, promptness, energy, and resolution. Essex, meanwhile, had reached Northampton, and now lay, in considerable force, within reach of his royal enemy. The Council at Nottingham were in hourly fear for the King's safety, but their fears were causeless. Nothing can be conceived more awkward than for the Parliament at this moment to have made the King a prisoner. He had granted infinitely more than they had presumed even to ask for, twelve months before; his desire for peace, his offer for a treaty was published to all England: the Roundheads dared not have touched him. They knew well that they must wait until the public reason was lost in the public passion, and the strong instinct of allegiance merged in the still stronger instinct of hatred towards an enemy. The King was not yet that enemy; the Parliament

were determined to make him so; to steep his hands in blood, and then, and not till then, to call him to an account.

The mass of Prince Rupert's correspondence presents itself to us at this conjuncture. Until the first hurried arrangements for the campaign were made, the Prince probably had no secretary, and none of the correspondence seems to have been preserved. A Mr. Blake, I believe, now filled that office, and seems to have been very careful in his guardianship of his Highness's letters. Unfortunately, however, this gentleman never made any memoranda upon them, and we have the letters in the same state that they left the hands of the messengers who conveyed them. Some possess but little interest, except as they afford the means of verifying (or falsifying) historical records by their dates, their quaint language, and the eager spirit that breathes through them. The most matter-of-fact of them all, however, may be useful to the future historian; especially to him who shall write the "Military History of the Civil War," in full; a task which I found incompatible with the other objects of my work.[1] In writing such a history, many of these letters will be omitted and their contents and information appropriated and condensed. I do not feel myself justified in omitting any that possess any historical or other interest, or that those who come after me might glean any information from. I have selected those that appeared to me of the most importance, and if they succeed in awakening interest, probably the

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[1] I believe, however, that I have as nearly approached it as most others have done. I have not left any (to me) attainable sources of information unexamined, and as the dwarf on the giant's shoulders, the most inefficient writer may see more than his more gifted predecessor. Before Mr. Carlyle's great work on Cromwell, M. Guizot's "Revolution d'Angleterre," Mr. Forster's "Statesmen of the Commonwealth," Mr. Brodie and Mr. Godwin, to which I

remainder will be presented to the public by their proprietor. The letters (now first published) from the King, from the Ladies, and from Princes Rupert and Maurice, I have generally inserted in the text; the more interesting of the Cavaliers' correspondence in smaller print, and the rest, more or less important, in the notes. For the reader's convenience I have spelt them right: there is no information to be gained from the villanous orthography of our ancestors, however heroic they may have been; the forms of expression I have left untouched.

I have a few observations to make concerning the following correspondence; first, it proves Prince Rupert to have been the director of the whole war, and the sole referee of the King upon every point connected with their military affairs. This, at first, considering the issue of the war, may appear to be an unfortunate admission for the Prince; but, it is to be recollected, that at the first, the state of the King's affairs was well-nigh desperate, that nothing but the most able and vehement exertions could have raised up his depressed and destitute army to a state of strength and service; and that through all the widely scattered quarters of this army, wherever there was a courtier, there was a wayward and jealous opponent of the young general. At head-quarters especially, every obstacle was thrown in his way that the King's partiality would allow; and all the responsibility being thrown upon the Prince, all the many failures were visited upon him also. It is remarkable, that all those who were under his orders express themselves with devotedness and

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may add Lord Nugent's "Hampden," the "Fairfax Correspondance," Miss Strickland's "Henrietta Maria," and Miss Aikin's "Court of Charles I.," there was a vast amount of labour to be undergone to arrive at even the sources of information which their industry or talent have discovered. With respect to the political history of this period, Mr. Hallam has scarcely left anything to be desired that was attainable by genius and research.

affection towards his service, and that every brave man only seems to desire to serve under the eyes of the most daring leader of that brave time.

The first letter in Prince Rupert's collection is from Charlotte de la Tremouille, the heroic Countess of Derby.[1] It is superscribed "for the Prince," but is without any place of address. Rupert was probably at Queneborough, near

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[1] This illustrious lady was the third daughter of Claude, Duke of Thouars, Prince of Palmont, and a Peer of France, by Charlotte, daughter of William first Prince of Orange, whose wife was of the Royal House of Montpensier. She was married when very young to James Stanley, seventh Earl of Derby,* with whom she lived in peaceful happiness till civil strife called him to the defence of the Isle of Man, leaving to his countess the management of all his English affairs. How gallantly she acquitted herself of this trust will appear later in our history. After the relief of Lathom House by Rupert, Lady Derby accompanied her lord on his return to their island territory: this he continued to hold for the King after it was confiscated by Parliament, which revenged itself by detaining his children in the harshest captivity, when they were sent to solicit relief in England on the faith of a pass from Fairfax, for eighteen months. The earl and countess remained amongst the simple islanders, who adored them, till 1651, when Lord Derby returned to England and died heroically in the cause of Charles II. His widow continued to rule their former kingdom in dignified poverty, until it was disgracefully betrayed to the enemy by a man named Christian, who owed everything to her lord. She and her children endured a cruel imprisonment after this, and such extreme poverty, that they were driven to accept of alms from their friends. The estates were restored to her eldest son upon King Charles's accession, and the countess ended her days at the family hall of Knowsley in Lancashire, March, 1663. I have taken this account principally from Mr. Lodge. In Lord Dartmouth's collection of

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* I find the following piece of gossip concerning this lady in the correspondence of Father Cyprian ("Court and Times of Charles I."). He says (writing in 1636), "The Duchess de la Tremaille is just come [to London] with her daughter, married lately to Lord Strange. She hath down upon the nail 24,000*l.*, he making her but 2000*l.* a year jointure."

G.P.Harding, F.S.A. del. Jos. Brown, sc.

Charlotte de la Tremouille

COUNTESS OF DERBY.

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY HONTHORST, IN THE COLLECTION OF THE

R^T HON. EARL FITZWILLIAM, AT WENTWORTH HOUSE.

London: Richard Bentley, 1810

Leicester, when it reached him; it is easier to know even now, than it was then, where the fiery young Palatine was to be found at any given time. The Countess congratulates him on having escaped from Warwick, who was cruizing with the Parliamentary fleet to intercept all communication with the Continent. She then solicits from the King some protection for her neighbourhood, little knowing his inability to furnish a single company.[1]

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family papers, admirably arranged by Lord Bagot, there is a fine print of this heroic lady. It bears that stamp of faithfulness to the original that seldom deceives. The Countess of Derby is there represented, not very refined and noble-looking, as we should expect from her illustrious blood, but her portrait bespeaks her far better—brave, and kind, and good.

[1] It needs not to be told how nobly the countess, when thrown upon her own resources, proved that she was able to defend herself, but the following letter will shew how much her character and conduct enlisted the sympathies of her neighbours. As I have many other papers relating to Lathom House, I subjoin this here, although anticipating its date.

FROM THE CAVALIERS KEEPING GARRISON IN CHESTER, TO PRINCE RUPERT.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

"We have thought it worthy your Highness' knowledge and this express, to inform you, that since your Highness' departure from these parts, the house of Lathom (wherein your very heroic kinswoman, the Countess of Derby, is) hath, by Sir Thomas Fairfax (who is yet there), been very straitly besieged, and, as we hear, assaulted (notwithstanding any rumours which were to the contrary), yet so defended by her admirable courage, as from the house there hath been killed divers of the assailants, some prisoners taken, and many arms. By these means she hath occasioned the enemy to strengthen the leaguer, and exasperated their malice. But she hath wasted much of her ammunition and victual, which must needs *hasten the sadness of her ladyship's condition*, or render her captive to a barbarous enemy, if your Highness' forces do not speedily relieve her; in contemplation whereof, as also of the happy effects of her gallantry, who, by this defence, hath not only diverted a strong party of the Lancashire forces from joining with those who would endeavour to in-

"THE COUNTESS OF DERBY TO PRINCE RUPERT.

"MONSEIGNEUR,

"Il n'y a personne qui ait eu plus de joie de votre arrivée en ce pays que moi, et qui a plus craint les dangers que vous pourriez courir par le conte de Warwick, dont Dieu vous a delivré: j'espère pour le service du roy, et le bien de ce royaume qui sera bien miserable depuis l'approche de la revolte, et que l'on fait courir les bruits de quelque retraite

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terrupt your Highness' march and retreat, or otherwise might have joined in one body to have annoyed us here in the division of our forces. We are therefore all bold (with an humble representation) to become suitors to your Highness for your princely consideration of the noble lady's seasonable and speedy relief, in which (besides her particular) we conceive the infinite good of all these northern parts will be most concerned, and his Majesty's service very much advanced. The happy success of your Highness is now our principal hope and prayers, which, and all your Highness' designs, shall be promoted with the lives and utmost services of

"Your Highness' most faithful servants,

"CARYLL MOLYNEUX.
THO. TYLDESLEY.
RICHARD GROSVENOR.
HENRY LEGH.
RICH. MOLYNEUX.
AB. SHIPMAN.
J. MAINWARING.
RICHARD GREENE.
JAMES ANDERTON.
WILL. WALTON.
JOHN BERIMIGHAM."

"Chester, March the 23rd, 1643." *

About the same time the Prince seems to have received the following letter, without date. It is so short that I give it in its

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* Prince Rupert's Correspondence.

des gens de sa Majesté. Cela a enflé le courage des seditieux tellement que je ne crois pas que l'on les puisse desarmer s'il ne plaisoit au roy d'envoyer quelques compagnies de cavalerie en cette province qui seroit un grand avantage pour le service de sa M^tie^. Par ce moyen, l'on n'aura besoin de retenir ces compagnies de cavalerie que pour fort peu de temps; et l'on pourroit lever et armer des gens de pied pour le service du roy, ce que je crains ne se pourra faire sans cela, car l'on n'aura assez affaire de se defendre de nos ennemis de dedans notre pays, et je ne sais comment s'y peut demeurer avec sureté sans cette assistance qui pourra servir assurer toutes les provinces à sa Majeste, ce qui ne sera pas de peu de consequence. Pardonnez à ma liberte, et à la hardiesse que je prends. Mais l'honneur que j'ai de vous appartenir[1] la donne, et j'espère tout en votre

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original spelling. The fair writer does not even spell her own name right.

"MONSIEUR,

"Je prends la hardiesse de faire ce mot a vostre altesse pour la supplier tres humblement de ce donner la penne d'entre ce porteur sur estat de ce pays qui auroit bien besoing de sa presence comme vostre altesse le poure mieux juger elle maime par son dixcours augnez je me remais et la supplice de me croire plus que personne.

"MONSIEUR,

"De vostre Altesse la tres humble et tres obeysente et tres fidelle servant

"C. DE TREMAILLE."

"A Monsieur
Monsieur le Prince Rupert.
No date except 1642.
Countesse of Darby."

1 The Prince was related to her.

generosité que vous avancerez cette affaire avec le plus de diligence que ce pourroit être.

"Monseigneur,

"Votre très humble et très obeissante servante,

"CHARLOTE DE LA TREMAILLE."[1]

"à Ladhom,[2] ce 31 d'Oust, 1641.

"A Monseigneur,
"Monseigneur le Prince Ruper."

At this period, as all the following correspondence will prove, Prince Rupert was not only the King's chief dependence and main stay; but he exercised, in fact, the chief command. In that camp of courtiers, it would have been difficult for any man, of less resolute character, or less exalted station, to have assured a lead: etiquette, and the sensitive jealousies of almost all the volunteers, circumscribed every man's capacity of action to the precise spot that the heralds would have assigned it.[3]

On the Roundhead side, that man was held the

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[1] This letter is very difficult indeed to decypher, and very strangely spelt.

[2] Lathom House, six miles from Wigan.

[3] Of these officials there was a prodigious train: they were the only *attachés* of the King whom the Parliament left entirely to their own duties. Their gorgeous dresses must have contrasted strangely with the "ragged array" of the King's soldiers at Coventry. Leigh Hunt, in his well-peopled "Town," gives a pleasant anecdote of a herald waiting on a bishop about this time to summon him to the House of Lords. The herald appeared, as was customary, in full dress, arrayed with tabard and other insignia of his office: his bishop was an Irish one (Killaloe), and had an Irish servant, to whom he gave his titles, king-*at-arms*, &c. &c., to announce him by; the bewildered Celt forgot every-

best who could do the most. Hampden, Pym, Brooke, Cromwell, were everywhere, doing everything, and inspiring, instead of jealousy, a zeal to follow in their steps. Rupert was the only man of rank, in the Royal camp, who was exclusively a soldier, and entirely free from patriotic scruples, diplomatic subtleties, and respect of persons. His affection to King Charles was devoted, and chivalrously single-minded; he allowed no other consideration to interfere with it for a moment. He set at nought the bitter rivalries and local jealousies of the nobles, yet he seems to have inspired them, for the most part, not only with respect or fear, but with the warmest regard for him. Lord Digby, however, was his enemy from the first, and Sir Edward Hyde seems always to have held him in dislike and fear.[1] This enmity was productive of

thing but the wonderful appearance of the official, and scared the bishop by the assurance that the king *of trumps* was come to wait upon his lordship.

[1] Sir Philip Warwick, the Froissart of the Cavaliers, takes a very different view of Prince Rupert from Lord Clarendon. So little has been said in favour of this Prince by historians, that I may be excused for quoting the words of this candid and "grave authority:"—"That brave Prince and hopeful soldier, Rupert, ... who, though a young man, had in martial affairs some experience and good skill, and who was of such intrepid courage and activity, as that, *clean contrary to former practice*, when the King had great armies, but no commanders forward to fight, he so soon ranged and disciplined this small body of men, that, &c. .... Of so great virtue is the personal courage and example of our great commander; and indeed (to do him right) *he put that spirit into the King's army, that all men seemed resolved:* and had he been as cautious as he was a forward fighter and a knowing person in all parts of a soldier, he had most probably been a very fortunate one."—*Memoirs*, p. 227.

many evil consequences, and at last drove Rupert from the kingdom. The following letter is the first proof of the misunderstanding. It appears, that Digby had objected to the King's shewing such favour to the Prince, and that the latter had resented his interference with frank displeasure. On the 10th of September, Lord Digby wrote the following letter to him: it affords a good specimen, at once, of the style and character of one of the most clever, yet most affected and least practically able men engaged in the King's affairs.

FROM LORD DIGBY TO PRINCE RUPERT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I AM told by Mr. O'Neal that your Highness hath not so right an understanding of me, as my affection to your person and service made me hope. 'Tis true, Sir, that to persons so much above me as you are, my nature is not apt to those insinuations and *recherches* which others perhaps, that love them much less, are dextrous and industrious in; but this I will say to your Highness, with confidence and truth, that ever since I have had the honour to know you, I have not omitted any occasion wherein I thought I might either serve your Highness, or express how much I honoured you, of which I am sure I have the greatest and best witnesses.

I am told, likewise, that your Highness takes ill some expression of mine concerning you, to a person whom your Highness esteems, and I honour much. You will not think it fit for me to discourse upon that subject in a letter, and therefore I will refer the enlargement to Mr. O'Neal. But thus much I assure your Highness, that if I have deserved well in anything, it hath been of

your Highness even towards that person, and in that very expression; being wholly used in this sense, to tell that party that where there was a friendship of honour with so gallant a Prince as yourself, *les petits gens* should be kept at a greater distance, as I am sure the party will have the nobleness to avow, in case you think it worthy the reviving. In the mean time I shall study to serve your Highness with affection and industry in all things, wherein you shall think me worthy your trust. If these professions were not very real, I would not have troubled neither your Highness nor myself with them, for I have no other end upon you but this, that believing you a gallant and generous Prince, I should esteem myself happy to have with you the place of

Your Highness's most affectionate
Humble Servant,
GEORGE DIGBY.

10. 7bris, at Nottingham, 1642.

A temporary reconciliation seems to have followed this epistle, for, a few days later, Digby is fighting bravely by the Prince's side, at Powick Bridge; and for the next year, we find his letters expressing the utmost cordiality and respect towards his dangerous correspondent.[1]

The war is now fairly ushered in; the next chapter will commence a series of almost uninterrupted action, illustrated by an almost daily correspondence.

[1] I have somewhat anticipated this letter as to date, but not as to matter: other correspondence fills up the period to which it chronologically belongs.—EDITOR.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST BLOW.

THE KING AND THE CAVALIERS LEAVE NOTTINGHAM.— THE ROUNDHEAD ARMY. — RUPERT'S LEVIES. — GENERAL RENDEZVOUS AT STAFFORD. — BATTLE OF WORCESTER.

"This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole kingdome, and cast all into disorder and darknesse." *Icon Basilicon,* CHARLES I.

"Warre is an appeal to Heaven, when Justice cannot be had on earth." WARD.

Two great parties—the one desiring to extend, the other to contract, the democratic principle in our Constitution—have long and irreconcilably divided England, while mutually advancing her great destinies. These two parties were now arrayed in arms against each other. Before, and since that terrible strife, this antagonism has no doubt produced progression, and the more rapid development of our constitutional character: each party, alternately in the ascendant, moving forward as best it can, stimulated by the rivalry, yet rendered cautious by the vigilant enmity of its opponents. But, now, the great question was to be resolved by arms; each party had been driven to

extremes, and the original conflict of opinion was soon embittered and inflamed by personal animosity. Religion itself was distorted into an additional element of discord, imparting to the excited minds of political combatants all the characteristics of a Holy War. Religious controversy, at all times a bitter strife, never improves the temper or the truthfulness of men; political controversy is in itself a war, without weapon or bloodshed, but scarcely less fierce and cruel: the evil genius of the Court had had the ingenuity to raise each of these controversies into red heat, and then fuse them into one. Each party now claimed to wield the sword of the Lord, as well as of Gideon, and hence, the internecine nature of the war and its persistency: no battle could decide, no treaty heal the difference; destruction alone could still the opposition.

The King continued to hold his Court at Nottingham, until the 13th of September; inclined to peace,[1] but preparing diligently for war. Prince Rupert, and his principal officers, strongly objected

[1] I think I am justified in saying so by the assertion of one who very much disapproved of the King's cause, though he adhered to it as preferable to that of the Parliamentary faction. In Lord Sunderland's melancholy letter to his wife, quoted a few pages back, he thus explains the reason of his being found in the Royal camp; but he says that the "King, when he sent those messages, did heartily desire peace, though now [two months after] averse to it." Indeed, the attitude of the Parliamentary army, and the condition of his own may well vouch for his sincerity, and must have rendered him anxious to postpone any trial of physical strength with his sinewy opponents.

to the treaties negotiated with Parliament. They were unlearned in, and, probably, contemptuous of "moral force" doctrines; they only recognized the indubitable fact, that such temporizing materially interfered with the progress of the levies, and endangered such as were already made.[1] On the return of Lord Falkland from London, however, the war-party was fully satisfied: his mission had been contemptuously frustrated. Following on his steps, in a few days came Essex, "with great solemnitie," to take command of the army against his King. His instructions were brief, simple, and momentous: the Lord-General was to transmit terms of unconditional submission to the King [under the name of a petition]; and, that failing, he was, "by battle, or otherwise," to bring back to the Parliament, the King and his two sons.[2] Lord Essex was a discontented and disappointed man; his career, as a courtier and a lover, had been equally unfortunate; but he was a high-minded, chivalrous soldier, and held many scruples and sympathies in common with the Cavaliers: the former bias prompted him to undertake his present office;[3] the latter disqualified him from fulfilling it with the unscrupulous zeal that it required. Important as he was to his new Roundhead masters,

1 Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 217.

2 Parl. Hist. ii. Whitelocke's.

3 "If the Earl [of Essex] had refused that command, our cause in all likelihood had sunk, we having never a nobleman either willing or capable of it."—*Observations, &c., Lilly.*

from his military character and his high caste, they were too keen-sighted not to have discovered the drawbacks to such high qualities. For his nominal assistance, therefore, and, virtually, for his control, he was accompanied by a committee of Parliament; it consisted of twelve lords and twenty-four commoners, a heavy and unwelcome incumbrance on a general's staff.

On the 9th of September, 1642, the Lord-General set forth from London, to enter on his command. The hope of the "cause" was centred in his person, and the City escorted him, by guilds and companies, with all honour beyond its boundaries. A large company of armed gentlemen formed his body-guard; applauding crowds accompanied his progress, with the most extravagant exclamations;[1] every window was filled with his countrywomen, and the grim old streets were adorned, as if for a triumph. Orange scarfs and shawls, and ribbons, abounded everywhere, and became thenceforth the badge of party.[2] On his arrival at Northampton, the Lord-General found about 14,000 men, of all

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[1] On September 9, 1642, sets forth the Earl of Essex out of London towards St. Albans and his army; in way of triumph he went out waited on by Parliament, and millions of people lining the highways, throughout attended with the gallantry of his great commanders, with such of the nobility and gentry as favoured his design, the multitude crying out "*Hosanna!*" Others said "that even so was said and done to his father in his expedition towards Ireland, who returned back a traitor and lost his head at last."—*Sanderson's Charles I.*, p. 577.

[2] May, Long Parl., ii. 57; Whitelocke, p. 50. "Because the

arms, mustered under his banner.[1] These troops were well equipped with the Royal stores from Hull; and with arms last taken from the Tower when the Armada was approaching: much of this antique armour resumed its old place in the Tower, and may be there at this day. The bright orange scarf, and steel cuirass, however, enveloped a different stamp of men, from those who gathered round the King at Nottingham, unarmed and ill-provided as the latter were. No Norman chivalry swelled the ranks of the Roundheads, and those of gentle blood among them were so few, as to be summed up in half a column of our histories.[2] "Your troops," said the great spirit of that age, "your troops are, most of them, decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and the King's troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. Do you think, that the spirit of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them."[3] Thus spoke Cromwell, but he soon proved that he

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Earl of Essex gave a deep yellow for his colours, every citizen's dame, to the draggletail of her kitchen, had got up that colour of the cause."—*Sanderson's Charles I.*

[1] May, Hist. Parl., lib. iii. 5. The "cornet" or standard of Essex's own regiment bore on one side the Parliamentary motto, "God with us," on the other, "*Cave adsum !*"—*Life of Hampden*, ii. 200. The latter afforded sometimes abundant subject to the witty Cavaliers when it was seen in retreat, or warning the terrified farmers of approaching contributions.

[2] Lord Nugent's Life of Hampden, ii. 203.—Clarendon and Whitelocke, compared, 1727.

[3] Forster's Statesmen, iv. 92.

could himself evoke a more fierce and enduring spirit from among the People than even that which he here magnifies. His "Ironsides" are the most fearless and successful body of troops on record, even in our annals: these fellows may have been, and I believe were, for the most part, fanatics, but they were not all hypocrites: hypocrites never fought as they fought. "At first," says Sir Philip Warwick, "they chose rather to die than fly, and custom removed fear of danger: afterwards, finding the sweet of good pay, and of opulent plunder and preferment, the lucrative part made gain seem to them a native part of godliness." [1]

These masses were officered by old "Gustavus Adolphus men," who soon made them feel the iron discipline of the Swede, and transmuted the raw levies into steady soldiers. Engineering and artillery science was not to be learnt on the moment, and native, French, and German officers were employed in those services. Hampden's green coats were among the best of this young army. Lord Say and Lord Mandeville dressed their men in blue;[2] Lord Brooke, in purple; and the Londoners, under Denzil Holles, wore the red, that

[1] Warwick's Memoirs, p. 252.

[2] Probably in imitation of the Covenanters, who introduced the military badge and phrase of "true blue." Lesley and Montrose assumed blue ribbons, &c., in 1639, in contrast to the scarlet scarfs and plumes of the King's party. The colour was assumed by the Covenanters on the strength of *Numbers*, xv. 38.—*Napier's Montrose, Chambers.*

already had long distinguished them.[1] The officers wore armour, and were scarcely distinguishable from those of the King's party,[2] except by an orange or "tawney" scarf. The Parliamentary standard was "black, with one or five buff bibles,"[3] and the motto, "God with us," written beneath in gold. The Earl of Bedford was General of the Horse, in the Roundhead army, and the Earl of Peterborough, General of the Ordnance. The common soldiers of this army, and, no doubt, many of its officers, had little intention of making war upon their King: they had been elaborately taught, that their Sovereign was beset and, in some sort, imprisoned by evil counsellors, from whom it was their duty to rescue his Majesty.[4]

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[1] Lord Nugent's Life of Hampden, ii. 200.

[2] There were instances innumerable of mistakes occurring on this account, vide Ludlow, i. 48, 49; and, hereafter, the rescue of the King's standard at Edgehill.

[3] Buff and tawny being both varieties of Essex's orange. I quote in the text from the Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library.

[4] "'Tis to preserve his Majesty,
That we against him fight,
Nor are we ever beaten back,
Because our cause is right;

If any make a scruple at
Our declaration, say,
Who fight for us, fight for the King
The clean contrary way.

Chorus—Who fight for us," &c.

"'Tis for religion that you fight,
And for the kingdom's good,
By robbing churches, plundering them,
And shedding guiltless blood," &c.

Collection of Loyal Songs, 1660.

It was not until all other feelings and passions had been merged in that of the mere combatant, that Cromwell confided to his Ironsides "that he would pistol the King in fight as soon as any other man." It is probable that Essex encouraged the feeling of loyalty that as yet tempered the passion for revolution among the soldiers; and he may have hoped, that a demonstration would be the chief, if not the only, duty of his army.[1]

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[1] The marching orders of this gallant, able, and honest soldier belong too much to our period to be omitted. They bespeak the spirit which he intended and believed should actuate the proceedings in this war, and may be studied with advantage in any other.

"I do promise, in the sight of Almighty God, to undertake nothing but what shall tend to the advancement of the true Protestant religion, the securing of his Majesty's royal person, the maintenance of the just privileges of Parliament, and the liberty and property of the subject. Neither will I engage any of you into any danger, but I will, in my own person, run an equal hazard with you, and either bring you off with honour or, if God have so decreed, fall with you, and willingly become a sacrifice for the preservation of my country. Likewise I do promise, that my ear shall be open to hear the complaint of the poorest of my soldiers, though against the chiefest of my officers, neither shall his greatness (if justly taxed) gain any privilege; but I shall be ready to execute justice against from the greatest to the least. Your pay shall be constantly delivered to your commanders, and if default be made by any officer, give me timely notice and you shall find speedy redress. I shall now declare what is your duty towards me,—which must likewise be carefully performed by you. I shall desire all and every officer to endeavour by love and affable carriage to commend his soldiers; since what is done for fear is done unwillingly, and what is unwillingly attempted can never prosper. Likewise, it is my request that you be very careful in the exercising of your men, and bring them to use their arms readily and expertly, and not busy them in practising the ceremonious forms of military discipline; only let them be well instructed in the necessary rudiments of war, that they may fall on with discretion and retreat with care; how maintain their

Meanwhile the King still held his Court at Nottingham; debarred from the London road by the formidable force at Northampton, and uncertain whither to direct his course. His forces continued to augment: the brave old Lord Lindsey and his son, Lord Willoughby, each brought a regiment six hun-

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order and make good their ground. Also, I do expect that all those that voluntarily engaged themselves in this service should answer my expectation in the performance of these ensuing articles:—

"1. That you willingly and cheerfully obey such as by your own election you have made commanders over you.

"2. That you take special care to keep your arms at all times fit for service, that upon all occasions you may be ready, when the signal shall be given by sound of drum or trumpet, to repair to your colours, and so to march upon any service, where and when occasion shall require.

"3. That you bear yourselves like soldiers, without doing any spoil to the inhabitants of the country; so doing, you shall obtain love and friendship, where otherwise you will be hated and complained of, and I, that should protect you, shall be forced to punish you according to the severity of law.

"4. That you accept and rest satisfied with such quarters as shall fall to your lot or be appointed you by your quarter-master.

"5. That you shall, if appointed for sentries or perdues, faithfully discharge that duty; for upon fail hereof you shall be sure to undergo a very severe censure.

"6. You shall forbear to profane the Sabbath, either by being drunk or by unlawful games; for whosoever shall be found faulty must not expect to pass unpunished.

"7. Whosoever shall be known to neglect the feeding of his horse with necessary provender, so that his horse be disabled or unfit for service, the party for the said default shall suffer a month's imprisonment, and be afterwards cashiered as unworthy the name of a soldier.

"8. That no trooper, or other of his soldiers, shall suffer his paddee* to feed his horse in the corn or to steal other men's hay,

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* The groom or horse-boy allowed to these favoured troopers.

dred strong out of Lincolnshire; Sir William Penniman and John Bellasis,[1] arrived at the head of six hundred foot and a troop of horse from Yorkshire; and the artillery, such as it was, had now arrived. Confidence had returned, and every one desired to leave Nottingham and its dismal old castle, with its more dismal associations. They now only wait until Mr. Hyde's negotiations with the Mayor of Shrewsbury shall decide whether that "ancient and loyal city" or Chester shall be their next destination.[2] Meanwhile a hurried messenger arrives; the King learns that Portsmouth, his chief reliance in the south, is lost, that Goring has again abandoned or betrayed him. Having possessed himself of all that was to be had from both King and Parliament, that reprobate had given himself up to reckless debauchery, and blindly neglected all the duties of his post. As soon as Sir William Waller appeared before the walls, he received offers from Goring to surrender, merely on the stipulation of being himself spared and sent to Holland. He threatened, at the same time, "to destroy the town with wild-fire if he

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but shall pay every man for hay 6*d.* day and night, and for oats 2*s.* per bushel.

"Lastly, that you avoid cruelty. For it is my desire rather to save the lives of thousands than to kill one, so that it may be done without prejudice.

"These things faithfully performed, and the justice of our cause truly considered, let us advance with a religious courage, and willingly adventure our lives in defence of the King and Parliament."—*King's Pamphlets, British Mus.*

[1] A son of Lord Falconbridge.

[2] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. note to p. 251.

were not granted his own terms."[1] He then stole away from his charge and departed for Holland, leaving his garrison to find its way to Lord Hertford's standard or to perish. "This blow struck the King to the very heart," says Clarendon, who was probably with him when he received and read the news; it seemed to bring back the tide of all his misfortunes. But the character of Charles was ever buoyant under disappointment; he had a fatal confidence in his destiny, which though it ennobled him in adversity, long prevented him from profiting by its lessons. And there were many of his Court ready to encourage him in perseverance: Prince Rupert's fire, Wilmot's wit, Digby's reckless daring, all tended to the same point: even Hyde and Colepepper were become fearless of war, because despairing of peace; and the magnanimous Falkland was now as firm for the Crown as he had before been for the People.[2]

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[1] May, Parl. Hist., lib. iii. p. 4.

[2] The following letter occurring at this date, though somewhat lengthy for the matter it contains, is too characteristic of the pliant and cunning Elector Palatine, Charles Louis, to be passed over. As a specimen of wordy and involved writing it can scarcely be surpassed. It is amongst Rupert's papers, without address or signature, and bears date September 15, 1642 :—

"It being your lordship's desire to have that in writing which I propounded by word of mouth, I make bold to represent unto you, that since his Highness, the Prince Elector, my gracious master, followed, as duty bound him, the King's Majesty, his uncle, and during these present troubles his presence with his Majesty grow suspect unto the Parliament, and notwithstanding he never meddled with any matter that might be prejudicial unto the Parliament, but rather (as much as was suitable to due respect) did

On the 13th of September, the King proceeded to Derby: his army marched early on the same day, and was joined on the march by the repentant Lord Paget, with a regiment raised on his estates in Staffordshire. When the King's banner was seen in the distance, Lord Lindsey halted his men, formed them

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advise and intreat his Majesty for a good correspondency with his Parliament, as whereon his Highness's particular interest so much depended. The Parliament, for all this, conceived and entertained such jealousies of his continuing with his Majesty, that they did not only refuse to accept of his offers, whereby he might have evidenced his zeal and desire to do the kingdom service, but rather increased and multiplied their suspicions, which went very near to his heart indeed, but yet he remained in good hope still the Parliament would consider once more ripely of this well-intended offer, and afford him the means and opportunities whereby he might yet further manifest his faithful affection and serious desire to do good service to this kingdom. But whereas the misunderstandings grew on still between his Majesty and his Parliament, and were brought to that pass that matters came to action, his Highness then fearing the Parliament's jealousies would be yet more incensed and with more show of ground by any longer stay and abode there, resolved thereupon, for the respect he bore unto the Parliament, and that he might give no manner of distaste unto the land, to intreat his Majesty's leave for to withdraw himself (until these differences between his Majesty and Parliament might happily be accommodated) over unto Holland, which being obtained, was performed forthwith accordingly; his Highness, nothing doubting but the Parliament would thereby be assured and satisfied of the respect he bears them, and how really he endeavoureth to entertain and conserve their good affection.

"Now, although his Highness was confident the means appointed by his Majesty for his entertainment, which by reason of these jealousies for following his Majesty were kept back, would now be furthered and facilitated so much the more readily, yet hitherto is no appearance yet of any. And considering there are almost two full years now in arrear, that there are no other means left him for his support, the entertainment also itself being so proportioned as that he is not able to save or to lay up anything of it from one year to another, and that within these two

into line, and the whole array presented an unexpectedly imposing appearance. The King then saw his forces together for the first time, and was agreeably surprised at their strength: thenceforth all apprehension vanished, and it even became an object of desire to meet Lord Essex.[1]

Amongst the detached forces that now joined the royal rendezvous, was the active corps of Lord Northampton, which had for some time past been harassing the Roundheads about the town and neighbourhood of Northampton. They had proceeded as far as Banbury, and possessed themselves

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years last past he hath been at such great and extraordinary charges, by reason of his detainment in France, his journey in Denmark, and the dispatches and entertainments of his deputies to the Court of the Emperor, besides that he has been necessitated to make such a long and chargeable stay here in England, it may easily be conceived that his Highness must needs have run far into debts; and since there follows nothing yet, and the troubles are so ripe here, the credit will extend no further neither; whence any one may readily guess and conclude to what condition of extremity his Highness is thereby reduced. And whereas his Majesty ordered £2000 for his Electoral Highness since May last, whereof the assignment was obtained but a few weeks ago to the royal commissioners, but the payments fall not, some until the latter end of October, and the rest not till March ensuing; his Highness, in the meanwhile, not being able to subsist, it is humbly desired whether there might not £2000 forthwith be issued and advanced for his Highness's present necessity out of the Parliament treasury, upon the delivering up unto them the aforesaid assignments, whereupon they may be repaid again at the time appointed. This would be a means whereby his Highness might be somewhat relieved in his present extremity, and I am assured his Highness will not be unmindful of acquitting this good procurement of your lordship's, as a singular benefit, upon all occasions."

"September 15, 1642."—*Benett Papers.*

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 252, note.

of some guns and ammunition collected there. They then proceeded to besiege Warwick Castle, in the absence of Lord Brooke, but Sir Edward Peto hoisted on the flag-staff of Guy's Tower a Bible and a Winding-sheet, implying by this singular telegraph that he would occupy the latter before he would betray the former. Lord Compton tried to change this determination by a battery he erected on the Church-tower, and Lord Dunsmore by another on the Park-hill, but they were repulsed; and soon afterwards Lord Northampton raised the siege, and proceeded to join the King.[1]

About the same time, Prince Rupert was on his march to the same rendezvous with the Royal Horse;[2] making various excursions in search of men and arms, and the sinews of war. The Parliamentary historian says that "this Prince, like a perpetual motion, with those horse that he commanded, was in a short time heard of in many places at great distances."[3]

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[1] From tracts in the possession of Mr. Staunton, quoted by Lord Nugent.

[2] Mrs. Hutchinson tells us, in page 125 of her pleasant "Memoirs," that when the Prince broke up his quarters, "the neighbouring ladies" not only went to see him march out of the town, but some of them were actually gone along with him!" Mrs. Hutchinson also mentions that a letter from her husband, the afterwards celebrated governor of Nottingham, was intercepted by Prince Rupert's troopers, and forwarded (when read) to his wife. A Captain Welch, it appears, soon afterwards attempted to arrest her husband, though he at first assured her that "he was in sanctuary being in her presence."—pp. 124, 125.

[3] May, lib. iii. 9.

On the 17th of September, the King moved on to Stafford, passing by Chartley Park, the seat of the Earl of Essex. The Cavaliers looked with angry eyes on that fine mansion, peacefully embosomed among sheltering woods, whilst many of their own dwellings had already been laid waste and pillaged;[1] but the King protected the enemy whom, too late, he had learned to value, and Chartley was passed by untouched. At Stafford, an intimation was received that Shrewsbury would welcome the Cavaliers, and that the Mayor, "though a humorous old fellow, had prepared all things for his Majesty's reception." Shrewsbury, upon this, was at once designated as head-quarters for the Royal army: its situation on the confines of loyal Wales, its command of the river Severn, and its neighbourhood to Chester,[2] rendered it most eligible. Prince Rupert, with a strong detachment of cavalry, "eighteen troop of horse and dragoons,"[3] was dispatched from Stafford with orders to occupy Worcester, and thus form along the Severn a line of communication,

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[1] See hereafter in notes to "Prince Rupert's Declaration."

[2] The latter city was of great importance, as being then the key to Ireland, yet for that reason its actual occupation by the King might have caused greater jealousy.—*Clarendon.*

[3] Rupert Papers. I suspect Lord Clarendon is mistaken in not assigning *Stafford* as the place where the little army was assembled. At the latter place the "Iter Carolinum" (which I have never found in error, comparing it with the dates of cotemporary letters) proves that the King remained two days: at Wellington he only remained one night. From Stafford, Prince Rupert and a strong body of horse were detached to Worcester, and much other business was transacted.

intended ultimately to extend to Bristol. This plan, but for Gloucester fatally intervening, would have been accomplished.

On the 19th September, the King reached Wellington, where he had appointed a general rendezvous for all the forces levied in that neighbourhood, as well as for his own army. The troops being paraded, the military orders were read at the head of each regiment; and then the King, placing himself in the midst of them, made a spirited speech.[1] He also circulated a solemn protestation, which

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[1] THE KING'S SPEECH TO HIS ARMY.

"GENTLEMEN,—You have heard those orders read: it is your part in your several places to observe them exactly. The time cannot be long before we come to action, therefore you have the more reason to be careful; and I must tell you I shall be very severe in the punishing of those, of what condition soever, who transgress these instructions. I cannot suspect your courage and resolution; your conscience and your loyalty hath brought you hither, to fight for your religion, your king, and the laws of the land. You shall meet with no enemies but traitors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists; such who desire to betray both Church and State, and who have already condemned you to ruin for being loyal to us. That you may see what use I mean to make of your valour—if it please God to bless it with success—I have thought to publish my resolution to you in a protestation; when you have heard me make it, you will believe you cannot fight in a better quarrel, in which I promise to live and die with you."

THE KING'S PROTESTATION.

"I do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for His blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true Reformed Protestant religion, established in the Church of England: and, by the grace of God, in the same will I live and die.

"I desire to govern by all the known laws of the land, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be by them pre-

infused much "courage into the soldiery, and much confidence and comfort amongst the gentry and inhabitants of those parts." The following day, the King marched into Shrewsbury, where we shall leave him for the present; and follow the fortunes of our Prince and his Cavaliers until they joined the general rendezvous at the same place.

Prince Rupert had soon become weary of the long speeches and procrastinating councils of the men of peace at Nottingham. Doubtless, to them it was an equal relief as to him, when he rode away in exercise of his own more active and congenial functions. He was now a Gartered Knight and General of the Royal Horse of England; a force consisting of about eight hundred men, ill-equipped, ill-mounted, undisciplined, and unpaid. However much we condemn the means (and it is no defence to say that they were imitated by the Roundhead

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served with the same care as my own just rights. And if it please God, by His blessing upon this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from this rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of Parliament, and to govern by the known laws of the land, to my utmost power, and particularly, to preserve inviolably the laws consented to by this Parliament. In the meanwhile, if this time of war and the great necessity and straits I am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I hope it shall be imputed by God and men to the authors of this war, and not to me, who have so earnestly laboured for the preservation of the peace of this kingdom. When I willingly fail in these particulars, I will expect no aid or relief from any man, or protection from heaven. But in this resolution I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of God's blessing."—*Clarendon's Rebellion*, iii. p. 7.

party), we cannot help admiring the energy and skill with which, in a few days, in a strange country, he supplied his men with every necessary, largely recruited their ranks, and infused into them a spirit of high and devoted daring. It is evident that all this was accomplished without much offence, at least to the King's loyal subjects. Even the Mayor of Leicester, by a single remonstrance to his Majesty, for which he had ample time given him, was able to obtain remittance of the moderate subsidy imposed upon his town: and yet money *was* raised, horses found, and harness too, and many a sturdy trooper attracted by the very style of proceedings so unpalatable to the Roundheads.

For the Prince flew like wildfire—as Parliament writers affirmed—from place to place; breathing and inspiring ardour, astonishing country gentlemen, and giving a momentum to corporate bodies, incredible till then. Restrained by no local influence or patriotic misgivings, he only saw in the anti-Royalist a foe: wherever he found a Roundhead horse, he clapped a cavalier-trooper on its back; and with equal decision, when he dashed into a Puritan town, he levied a contribution. The good people who had been quietly debating about abstract rights and wrongs, were taken by surprise at these practical acts. Now here, now there, a gallant troop of Cavaliers would come cantering up, swaggering, and, I fear, swearing not a little, but comporting themselves in a good-humoured off-hand

sort of way, that gave less offence than injury, especially to the women.[1] Now some peaceful village had to furnish a day's creature-comforts for a squadron of these merry "malignants,"[2] and now some respectable assize-town was called upon to pay them for a week. Saddles too, for their horses, were very often required; spurs for their boots, feathers for their hats; iron for armour, cloth for doublets: it was wonderful how much they wanted, and how much they got. Throughout the wide north and west no place was secure from their visitation; reckless of danger and setting all odds at defiance, their merry foraging parties seemed indeed to make a game of war. The fiery and impetuous daring of Prince Rupert, his perfect indifference to danger, moral and physical; his fertility of resource, his promptitude and zeal for the cause, had endeared him to the young Cavalier; while the old soldiers respected his experience in havoc, and knew that his terrible *prestige* was well-founded. Wherever the flutter of a cavalier-scarf was seen, Prince

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[1] "But some young plants of Grace they looked couthie and slee,
Thinking, 'Luck to thy bonnet,' thou bonnie Dundee!"
Sir W. Scott.

[2] If the Cavaliers helped themselves, it must be confessed that the Roundheads were not to be outdone even in this respect, though their exactions were more formal: I have already quoted some instances of this; take the following order as another specimen: "It is ordered that Major Medhope, now at or about Leake, shall have power to *take so many horses* of papish or malignants" [comprising nearly the whole population of that country] "as to horse his troopers."—*MS. Journal of the Stafford Committee in possession of Mr. Burns Floyer of Aldershaw.*

Rupert was there, or believed to be there: by his name contributions were levied at the unscrupulous will of the trooper; by his name villages were conquered and cities menaced and children stilled. And, in truth, he was seldom far off or over-indulgent when he came: his sleepless vigour, his untiring energy, were everywhere felt, dreaded, and admired. With such a leader, and in such a time, his forces rapidly increased. He rode forth from Leicester on the 26th of August, at the head of eight hundred horse, ill-equipped and almost undisciplined: he paraded at Shrewsbury, on the 28th of September, with upwards of three thousand troopers and dragoons, well-fed, well-horsed, and laden with Puritan plunder and execrations.[1]

To return to the 26th of August: arms were the supplies most wanted; while the Parliamentary troops were furnished with the spoils of Hull and of the Tower; they had also appropriated almost all the "County Magazines."[2] That of Leicester had been removed to Bradgate, by Lord Grey of Groby [Lord Stamford's son], and Prince Rupert determined to commence operations by an attempt to recover these arms—the abstraction of which he looked upon

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[1] "The two young Princes, Rupert especially, the elder and fiercer of the two, flew with great fury through divers counties, raising men for the King in a rigorous way, ... whereupon the Parliament declared him and his brother "*traitors*."—*May. Mas.* 52.

[2] Anciently the "trayn-bands," only occasionally called upon to assemble and exercise, returned their arms to the depôt, or magazine, as it was called, in each county town.

as downright robbery from the King. Young Hastings had been long considered as Lord Grey's rival, in the county wherein he and Lord Huntingdon were as popular as Lord Stamford and his son were disliked.[1] Hastings had already distinguished himself boldly in the King's service, and he now joined the Prince with a chosen detachment of cavalry. On the 26th of August they galloped up to the old house, overthrew all opposition, and had all the arms and ammunition ready for transportation before the carts destined to receive them had arrived. They shewed little regard to the furniture or other property of the rebel lord, but it is confessed that they abstained, in this instance, from plundering. They also disarmed several houses of lesser note, and I fear they were then less scrupulous about private property.[2] They looked upon all their victims as enemies to their King; and probably their conscience felt still fewer scruples than their conduct displayed.[3]

With the spoils of Bradgate, and other Roundhead stores, the Royal cavalry were now armed and

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[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii.

[2] Hollings' Hist. of Leicester, p. 21, &c.

[3] I do not stop here or hereafter to denounce the outrages of the Cavaliers or their opponents: the calm reader's mind will denounce such conduct according to his own temper: but to prove (impartially) that the above and similar transactions were not confined to the Prince or his party, I quote, for the present, only one sentence from republican Ludlow. He says, that "Sir Edward Hungerford having raised a troop of horse for the Parliament, seized some quantity of arms and horses from persons disaffected, and with them mounted and armed some of his men." —*Memoirs*, i. 57.

equipped. Soon after this exploit, a detachment of about five hundred troopers, accompanying the Prince, happened to take the road that led to Caldecot Manor-house, in the north of Warwickshire. It belonged to a Member of the Parliament, a Mr. Purefoy, who was then commanding a body of troops against the King in Warwick Castle. Every country-house at this period was strongly built, and capable of more or less resistance; moreover, the scarcity of means of communication caused every establishment to be well supplied, from its internal resources, with large store of provisions, and generally with arms also: these last then formed the chief ornament of every hall. The Prince summoned Caldecot as an enemy's garrison, and, as a garrison, it refused to surrender. It was defended only by a Mr. Abbott and eight serving-men; but the heroic spirit of an English-woman infused a strength and courage here, as at Lathom and Wardour Castle, that set odds at defiance. Mrs. Purefoy having refused to admit him, the Prince ordered an assault; some dismounted troopers soon forced the gate of the outer court, but at the same moment a cool and well-directed volley from the defenders slew three officers and several common soldiers. The attack was renewed during some hours, with heavy loss to the Cavaliers, who had nothing but pistols and perhaps a few dragoon's carbines to oppose to an enemy firing with deadly certainty from behind impregnable stone walls. There were only twelve muskets in the

house, but these ladies and their maid-servants loaded as fast as they were discharged, melting down the pewter-plates for bullets when the ammunition began to fail. At length even Rupert consented to retire his men under shelter; but finding a strong wind blowing from the farm-yard, he fired the barns, and advancing under cover of the smoke, assailed the very doors. Then at last the brave lady came forth, and claimed protection for the lives of her little garrison. When the Prince ascertained their number, his anger was changed into admiration; he complimented Mr. Abbott on his gallant defence, and offered him a good command in his regiment, which was declined. The Prince then respectfully saluted Mrs. Purefoy and drew off his troops; nor did he allow a man of the garrison, or any property whatever to be injured.[1]

Such conduct, on the Prince's part, will probably appear very natural to the reader, but it argues at least no small degree of influence over the unpaid and angry soldier, that they submitted to see the prey so dearly purchased thus rescued from their grasp.

After this unprofitable but honourable incident, Rupert resumed his march to join the King on his route from Derby, and was there rejoined by the remainder of his cavalry.

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[1] Prince Rupert's Diary (Benett MSS), Life of Hampden, ii. p. 255.

On the 5th of September they moved to Queneborough, to the number of nearly two thousand mounted men. Here, among the rich meadows of Leicestershire, forage was abundant, but accommodation for the men was scarce; and as for pay, the Prince had none to give. However, he had been trained in the Continental wars, where the chiefs held it to be a matter of course that "war should support itself;"[1] he therefore considered it was perfectly natural that Royalists should contribute to the cause they professed to follow, and that the Roundheads should pay for their immunity from this hardship and that of serving the King. Leicester was the first town he tried his powers of persuasion upon: its merchants were even then men of substance, and its citizen-gentry very wealthy. The very day of his arrival in the neighbourhood, the Prince requested the Mayor to call upon him, and the next morning he despatched the following unpalatable epistle to his Worship [it appears that his Highness's correspondent had professed attachment to the Royal cause]:—

PRINCE RUPERT TO THE MAYOR OF LEICESTER.

Queneborough, this 6th day of Sept. 1642.

MR. MAYOR,

HIS Majesty, being confident of your fidelity to do him all possible service, willed me this day to send for you to my quarters, and there to deliver to you his pleasure.

1 Napoleon's dogma was a plagiarism from Wallenstein.

But I, perceiving you are dissuaded from coming (by whom or on what pretences I know not), have here sent you his Majesty's demand. His Majesty being now somewhat necessitated by the vast expenses he hath been this long time enforced to, for the safeguard of his Royal person against the rebellious insurrection of the *true* malignant party, who are now too well known, and their irreligious intentions too plainly discovered by all his loving and obedient servants, doth earnestly require and desire you and his good subjects of the City of Leicester, forthwith to furnish him with two thousand pounds sterling, which he with much care will take order to see repaid in convenient time, and that his Majesty's gracious promise, I hope, will seem much better security than "The Public Faith," which is the usual assurance that the party which call themselves the Parliament do give. And you must trust them on it, if you assist not his Majesty hereby to defend you against them. You must *do no less than your former* expressions have spoken you, which induces me not to doubt of receiving the demanded sum to-morrow by ten of the clock in the forenoon, that I may be

Your friend, RUPERT.

P.S.—If any disaffected persons with you shall refuse themselves, or persuade you to neglect the command, I shall to-morrow appear before your town, in such a posture, with horse, foot, and cannon, as shall make you know it is more safe to obey than to resist his Majesty's command.[1]

I cannot find the Mayor's reply to this unwelcome message, but £500 was sent at the appointed hour, probably with some excuses to gain time.[2]

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[1] This letter may be seen among the archives of Leicester; and in Mr. Hollings' excellent little history of that town.

[2] The Corporation of Leicester are yet in possession of this receipt; it runs as follows:—"Sept. 7, 1642.—Received by me,

The shrewd citizens wisely concluded that the King would not officially lend his countenance to such unceremonious demands; and no sooner had Prince Rupert's "trumpet" left the town in one direction than a citizen rode forth in another, with a letter of remonstrance to his Majesty. On the 8th of September the following reply was received, written by Charles's own hand.

TO OUR TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF LEICESTER.

TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED,

WE greet you well. We have seen a warrant, under our nephew Rupert's hand, requiring from you and other the inhabitants of Leicester, the loan of £2,000, which, as we do utterly disavow and dislike, as being written without our privity or consent, so we do hereby absolutely free and discharge you from yielding any obedience to the same, and by our own letters to our said nephew, we have written to him to revoke the same, as being an act very displeasing to us.[1] We indeed gave him direction to disarm such persons there as appeared to be disaffected to our person and government, or the peace of this our kingdom, and should have taken it well from any of our subjects that should voluntarily assist us with the loan of arms and

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Prince Rupert, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and General of all his Majesty's cavalry in this present expedition, the full sum of five hundred pounds, for his Majesty's use, of the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Leicester, to be repaid again by his Majesty. I say, received five hundred pounds

"RUPERT."

[1] Prince Rupert did not think it necessary to keep this letter, *if ever it was written to him.* At all events I do not find it amongst his correspondence.—EDITOR.

money; but it is so far from our heart or intention, by menaces to compel any to it, as we abhor the thoughts of it, and of this truth our actions shall bear testimony.

Given at our Court at Nottingham, 8th Septr. 1642.

I have given these proceedings at Bradgate and Leicester, at length, as being the first of their kind, and as affording a specimen of many others, in which Rupert was less scrupulously controlled by his Royal uncle.

The next trace that I find of the young Palatine, is at Stafford, where the King assembled and reviewed his army. Intelligence was there received of Essex being about to seize Worcester, and occupy it as his head-quarters. Thereupon, it was ordered:—"That eight troop of horse, and ten of dragoons" [as better adapted for garrison duty, probably] "march immediately to our City of Worcester, we having received further intelligence of more of the rebel's forces that are there expected. Stafford, September 17th, 1642.[1] C. R." While the troops rested here, tradition says, that Prince Rupert and the King were riding by St. Mary's Church, when the former, for amusement or to shew his skill, sent a pistol ball through the weather-cock on the steeple, and followed it by a second, to the great marvel of the spectators.[2] The Prince moved on towards Worcester on the 19th, and took up his

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[1] Rupert Papers.

[2] I believe the hole is still to be seen there. Plot's "History of Staffordshire."

quarters, for the present, at Bridgenorth, in order to maintain the communication between Shrewsbury and Worcester, and to protect the latter. The Prince was here a guest of Mr. Holland's, at Carm Hall,[1] on the 20th and 21st, the latter day happened to be the "charter-day," on which, town-bailiffs for the following year were appointed. Probably at the instigation of some anxious loyalist, the Prince addressed the following letter to the "jury" appointed to select these important officers:—

"You, gentlemen of the jury, who are to have voices in this election; these are to entreat you, out of a tender care, both of his Majesty's service, and of your own happiness and welfare, that, in this present

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[1] Lord Digby joined Prince Rupert on the morning of the 20th September, with the following communication from his father:—

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO PRINCE RUPERT.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

"I have moved his Majesty according to your Highness' command, that the horse you desire may be reserved for your Highness' guard, which the King doth willingly condescend unto, and will give order they shall not be otherwise disposed of, which he saith he hath more particularly signified unto you by my son. His Majesty hath commanded me to send the enclosed letter unto your Highness, which I do, together with my most humble service, with assurance that I shall be most ready to obey all your Highness' commandments.

"Your Highness' most humble servant,

"BRISTOL."

"Shrewsbury, 20th Sept. 1642.

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* Rupert Papers.

election, you make choice of such men for your bailiffs as ye are sure are well affected for his Majesty's service, by which, you shall oblige me to remain "Your loving friend,

"RUPERT."[1]

On the same day the Prince received an order from the King to protect Worcester, and support Sir John Byron there: this able officer, with great difficulty, had conveyed, so far, some treasure contributed secretly in London. The Prince requested leave to engage, if possible, the advanced cavalry of Essex, and to this we have the King's rescript, in which he "complyes with the Prince, his desire to fight a battle if hee sees fit."[2] On the following day the King writes thus:—

"THE KING TO PRINCE RUPERT.

"DEAR NEPHEW,

"We conceive now that Worcester is sufficiently secured, and therefore our pleasure is, that you retire to Bridgenorth, if you be at Brandly, or continue at Bridgenorth, if you be there; to the end that if my Lord of Essex should attempt to cut off our return from Chester, and get between us there,

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[1] For the above letter I am indebted to Mr. Morris's (of Shrewsbury) collection, and to the Rev. Henry Burton's kind offices.

[2] This is dated from Shrewsbury, Sept. 21, 1642.—*Rupert Papers.*

and our forces here, you may be the readier to interrupt his passage and assist our return with those foot, which, in a very considerable number, we shall bring from thence: our pleasure likewise is, that such arms as you have taken or shall take, from the ill-affected in those parts, be sent to Sir John Byron, to Worcester, to be there employed for the arming of our present levies for the defence of that place. Given at our Court, at Shrewsbury, this 22nd of September, in the eighteenth of our reign.

"Your loving uncle and faithful friend,

"CHARLES R."

Again on the 23rd, the King "discharges Rupert of yesterday's orders, and leaves him to steer his own course."[1] The Prince had not waited for this permission; on receiving leave to fight, he at once mounted and set out for Worcester, which was hourly threatened by the enemy. About this time, he forwarded the following characteristic letter, with "a trumpet,"[2] to the Lord-General:—

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[1] I have only the memoranda of these letters, the originals were lost. They are all dated from Shrewsbury: the King left that town on the 23rd for Chester, whence the next letter is dated: All the dates of his letters confirm the accuracy of the valuable "Iter Carolinum" beyond a question.

[2] In communicating between the hostile armies, the aide-de-camp, or other messenger, was preceded by a trumpeter with a flag: in later times the former was dispensed with. The proposition to fight out the quarrel by duel was far more natural at that time, especially as coming from a renowned leader and a Prince of the blood, than in our own grave days. Yet in the

"FROM PRINCE RUPERT TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

"MY LORD,

"I hear you are General of an army, sent by the agreement of both Houses of Parliament (under the pretence of subduing some malignant persons) unto these parts, but we greatly fear you aim at some higher power, namely, your own sovereignty. If your intents are such, give but the least notice thereof, and I shall be ready, on his [Majesty's] behalf, to give you an encounter in a pitched field, at Dunsmore Heath, 10th October next. Or, if you think it too much labour and expense to draw your forces thither, I shall as willingly, on my own part, expect private satisfaction as willingly at your hands for the same, and that performed by a single duel; which proffer, if you please to accept, you shall not find me backward in performing what I have said or promised. I know my cause to be so just that I need not fear; for what I do is agreeable both to the laws of God and man, in the defence of true religion, a King's prerogative,[2] an Uncle's right, a Kingdom's safety.

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latter, Sir Sidney Smith challenged Napoleon to decide the cause of France with pistols, before Acre. The following paper bears no date, except that of its being printed the 6th of October: yet it is likely from the second note, as well as from its tone, that it was written soon after the affair at Powick Bridge. It will be seen that Essex replies to this singular challenge very gravely, and in much the same spirit.

[1] Here the Roundhead commentator remarks—"There is no

"Now have I said all, and what more you expect of me to be said, shall be delivered in a larger field than a small sheet of paper; and that by my sword and not my pen. In the interim I am your friend, till I meet you next, "RUPERT."[1]

The advanced guard of the Lord-General's army was now approaching Worcester under Fiennes, who expected to find the gates opened for him by his correspondents within the town. No demonstration being manifested in his favour, he took alarm and

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prerogative for him allotted in this realm for the pillaging of towns and firing of houses."

[1] Before this message was delivered to his Excellency, news was brought that Prince Rupert had received a dangerous wound in the head by Colonel Sandys,* in a skirmish near Worcester, so that this matter is left off for the present, and remains for further consideration. Whereupon his Excellency returned answer, "that the manner of his raising those forces that were now with him to march under his command, was a thing not now to be disputed on between them, the occasion and legality thereof being already determined by both Houses of Parliament; *neither had he undertaken that command with any intent for to levy forces or to make war upon his Majesty's royal person,* but to obtain a peace between his sacred Majesty and his great Council of Parliament, and all the rest of his Majesty's faithful, loyal, and most dutiful subjects, against any person whatsoever that should oppose and resist the same; and that he feared not to meet the Prince in any place that he should appoint or make choice of." I have taken this reply from Lord Nugent's "Life of Hampden;" the pamphlet from which I have taken the challenge containing no reply. "Prince Rupert's Message to my Lord of Essex," printed in London, October 6, 1642.—*King's Collection, British Museum.*

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* The report mistook Prince Maurice for Rupert, *vide* page 409.

hastily retreated,[1] believing that Rupert must have arrived. It appears, however, that the Parliamentary leader only withdrew as far as Pershore, and was then persuaded, in an evil hour, to return and try an encounter with the Royal horse. The brave Sandys gave this advice, and proceeded to put it into execution; advancing over Powick Bridge, along a narrow road that opened on a wide meadow, called the Brickfield. He was at the head of one thousand horse and dragoons,[2] the flower of the Roundhead cavalry,[3] impenetrably cased in steel,[4] and well mounted. With this powerful force, Sandys hoped to fall upon the Cavaliers while they were unprepared and wearied with their long and hurried march: he knew the powerful effect of a first victory, and the honour to be won by the conqueror.

Meanwhile, Rupert had arrived in Worcester; he found the town utterly indefensible,[5] and arranged with Byron to retire that night towards Shrewsbury. Whilst preparations for the march were being made, in order to rest his cavalry and at the same time to keep watch upon the neighbouring enemy, the Prince led his troops into the Brickfield, a little distance from the town, upon the Pershore road.

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1 Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 233. 2 Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 44.
3 Lord Falkland's Letter, Sept. 28.
4 Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 235.
5 "Walls broken down, gates rotten, without bolt or bar," &c. —*Clarendon's Rebellion.*

Prince Maurice, Lord Crawford, Lord Digby, Wilmot, Charles Lucas, Lewis Dives, and Byron, accompanied him, and he was soon afterwards joined by Lord Northampton's troop of gentlemen.[1] There was no appearance, however, of any enemy in the rich and quiet harvest fields: so the young Cavaliers had laid aside their armour, and flung themselves down to rest their wearied limbs upon the grass. As they lay thus, both officers and men, scattered and dismounted, they suddenly caught sight of a strong column of the enemy advancing rapidly along the Pershore road, and forming into line as fast as they debouched upon the open space. Rupert sprang to his feet, leaped upon the nearest horse, and called to his comrades to charge, "For the honour of God and of their country!" Not one who heard him paused or waited for his men to follow him; in gallant rivalry, each only strove to be first upon the enemy; unarmed as they were, they spurred forward with the cheering war-cry, "For a king!" and so charged their iron-clad enemies, and charged them home. The Roundheads met them stoutly, too, though scarcely disengaged from the narrow lane. They were mailed all over and well commanded, nevertheless, they could not stand before that furious charge. Rupert was ever resistless when first he came upon his enemy, and now he and his comrade Cavaliers not only dashed

[1] Among whom was Sir Richard Bulstrode, who describes this battle very briefly, except as concerns his own adventure with a runaway horse.—*Bulstrode's Memoirs*, p. 73.

through, but rode down the hostile ranks. At the same time Lord Crawford was ordered by the Prince to fall upon the right flank of the enemy, which he did with severe effect. Swords, however, struck almost vainly upon the impenetrable armour of the Roundheads; they seemed unwounded, yet they were shaken, routed, driven into the river and drowned, or utterly dispersed. The brave Sandys, their colonel, did not share their flight; he fell in the first shock, as did his major, Gunter. The survivors never drew rein for four miles, when they were espied by Essex's Life Guards, galloping into Pershore with swords drawn; many unhelmeted, and all filled with such fear that they frightened the Life Guards too; then they galloped altogether to the head-quarters of the Lord-General, where they received but "a cold welcome," which one of them candidly confesses was their due.[1] As the Cavaliers

[1] Ludlow's Memoirs, i. 45, &c. I have used the word unhelmeted instead of *unpotted*, "pot" being the correct term for the iron head-piece used by the troopers. Ludlow calls them "hats" here and elsewhere; but, it would seem, they were completely covered, and "their arms *were so good that they were not easily killed.*—(*Clarendon's Rebellion*, iii. 235, who also says, "there was not on the Prince's side one piece of armour worn that day.") The number of the enemy was, by Ludlow's confession, about a thousand: that of the Cavaliers could not have amounted to much more than half as many, only eighteen troop of horse (sixty at the utmost to a troop) and dragoons we have seen were despatched with Rupert from Stafford (p. 27), and more than half of them had been left behind in Worcester. It is remarkable that Clarendon, cautious about advancing Rupert's credit, only gives the number of the enemy in this action as five hundred, though their own historian, Ludlow, allows it to have been one thousand.

returned from the pursuit, they found, to their surprise, that but four or five of their troopers had fallen, whilst of the officers, who formed the front rank in the irregular and chivalrous charge, all had received some wound, except Prince Rupert. On the other side, four hundred are said, by Lord Falkland, to have been slain; few were taken prisoners, but five or six standards were won, and many good horses, which proved far more valuable.[1]

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[1] Among those who fought most bravely, and fell upon the field, were Colonel Sandys, Serjeant-major Douglas, Major Gunter, Captains Austin, Burrill, Berrey, Cornets Hamond and West. Colonel Sandys survived to see his own comrades enter Worcester, for the Prince allowed him to stay behind, to die in peace, and also sent his own chaplain, Lacy,* to attend and comfort him. The dying soldier remembered he had wounded Wilmot in the fight, and inquired anxiously how he fared: when told the wound was but a trifle, he expressed his gratitude that "he had not that blood to answer for." . . . . I have taken these details from Prince Rupert's Diary; from Clarendon, from Ludlow (almost an eye-witness, for the Parliament), from a letter by Colonel Fiennes, and from two pamphlets of the time, in Mr. Bentley's possession, and from a very interesting letter from Lord Falkland, whose testimony is beyond doubt. This letter was addressed by him to the Earl of Cumberland, then at York, and printed first at York, on the 28th of September, and afterwards in London, on the 2nd of October, 1642.

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* William Lacy, chaplain to Prince Rupert during the war: by virtue of a letter of Lord Manchester's, dated August 27, 1660, to the fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge, he was restored to his fellowship in that house, from whence he had been ejected. This most upright and excellent divine was taken prisoner in the war, confined in a foul prison, and very barbarously treated; afterwards, he was reduced to great want. After the Restoration, he became doctor of divinity, and was preferred to the rich living of Thornhill, in Yorkshire, by some of the Savile family.—*See Kennet's Chronicle of the Reign of Charles II.*, p. 239. 1728.

The moral effect of this skirmish was very great. That the best Parliamentary cavalry, fully armed and well mounted, should have been put to sudden and utter rout by half their number of Cavaliers, without armour, and on wearied horses, appeared very ominous. The defeated troops magnified their opponents' valour in order to mitigate their own disgrace; many wandered altogether away from the Roundhead standard, and spread abroad the "terror of Prince Rupert's name; his irresistible courage, and that of the King's horse."[1]

On the same night Prince Rupert, with his own forces and those of Sir John Byron, escorting the treasure, fell back upon Ludlow, by the Welsh side of the river, in order to join the King. They took with them all their prisoners, among whom was Captain Wingate.[2] Whilst halting here, the Prince determined to examine the state of the

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[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 237; Rushwood (who dates the fight on the 24th) 532; Mercur. Rusticus, Sept., 1642.

[2] Of him Vicars, the Rabshekah of his party, said "It was *credibly reported*" [a safe medium for a falsehood] "that he was most barbarously and basely made to ride naked, though a member of Parliament and a pious worthy gentleman." I am surprised to find that such a writer as Lord Nugent premises the truth of this atrocious charge to be not "worth serious inquiry;" yet he fairly adds a solemn refutation from one of their own party pamphlets, "Special Passages." That paper confesses that "Captain Wingate is used like a gentleman by the Cavaliers; and the printed pamphlets do much injury that express any hard usage of him by them. Give the devil his due, and do so to the Cavaliers in this thing." Lord Nugent says that the *following* day the Cavaliers "retired towards Shrewsbury, though the King was advancing to their relief." This appears to be a

Roundhead army with his own eyes. I give the account of his enterprise from a Parliamentary pamphlet of the day. It states that—

"Some two days after the skirmish of Worcester, Prince Rupert came to an old woman's house—being a widow—within a mile of the City, and asked her what victuals she had in the house. He was not dressed in the habit he wore in the field, but like a country gentleman. The old woman told him she had nothing but collops and eggs; if he pleased to have any of them, he should be welcome. Ready they were made, and he fell to roundly. Afterwards, he called for some drink; and she told him she had none but small drink; she was a very poor widow, and had none but herself and her son. He asked her where her son was? She told him: 'Gone to Worcester, to hear what news of the Cavaliers; for she heard say (thank God for it), that his Excellency [*i. e.* Essex] had made them fly the City: a company of rude knaves they were.' He asked her what she thought of 'Prince Rupert?' 'A plague choke Prince Rupert,' said she; 'he might have kept himself where he was born; this kingdom has been the worse ever since he landed.' 'There's

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very unfounded imputation on the Cavaliers for abandoning their post, and that, too, after the brilliant affair at Powick Bridge. It so happens, as the "Iter Carolinum" and the archives of Chester can prove, that the King was on his way to the latter town on that very day, his intentions being very far from seeking a battle at this time, when his troops were not even regimented or armed.—EDITOR.

three pieces for that word,' said the disguised Prince; 'for I'm of thy mind.' With that he took pen, ink and paper, and wrote to the Mayor of Worcester to this effect: 'he had given unto the bearer hereof, three pieces, to conceal him from their search,' which note he did enjoin her to present with her own hand, for she should be nobly rewarded.

"The General's army lying on Dunsmore Heath, his yeomen not being far off, he, riding as near the army as he durst, overtook a fellow driving a horse laden with apples. He asked the fellow what he had got there? who told him 'he was about to sell his ware to his Excellency's soldiers.' 'Why dost thou not go to the King's army?' inquired the Prince; 'I hear they are generous sparks, and will pay double!' 'O,' said the fellow, 'they are Cavaliers, and have a mad Prince among them; and the devil a penny could I get in the whole army.' The Prince asked him what he would take for the load? and the fellow answering ten shillings: 'Hold thy hand,' said the Prince; 'there is a piece for thee: now hold my horse, change habit with me, and stay here while I sell thy apples,—only for a merry humour that I have—and at my coming back, I 'll give thee a piece more.' The fellow willingly lent him his long coat and hat, and away went the Prince, selling the apples through the army, at any rate; viewing their strength, and in what kind they lay; and, returning to the fellow, gave him another piece, with this charge:—'Go to

the Army, and ask the commanders how they liked the fruit Prince Rupert, in his own person, did but this morning sell them.'"[1]

The Cavaliers reached Shrewsbury on the 26th of September; but Mr. Crane, Prince Rupert's messenger, had brought the news of their victory to the King,[2] at Chester, on the day previous, and presented him with the colours taken from the enemy. On his Majesty's return to the City, on the 26th, all the prisoners, except Wingate, were discharged under a promise not to bear arms again against the King.[3] About this time the Parliament, in sovereign style, proffered pardon to all the misguided persons in the realm, who had hitherto opposed them, with the exception of some of the wisest and best among the King's ministers. Those for whom there was to be

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[1] Prince Rupert's Disguises, London, 1643. A pamphlet in the King's College, British Museum.

[2] On his route, the Prince received a letter which is thus docketed [Worcester had been found quite untenable against the army of Essex]:—"The King advises the Prince to take care of Worcester, and principally to preserve his forces for a battle: commends his courage and conduct in the skirmish on Friday last, and promises him a considerable strength from Chester.—Chester, Sept. 25, 1642."

[3] Lord Falkland's letter, before quoted: he adds, "Prince Maurice hath received two or three scars of honour on his head, but is abroad and merry: divers of our party hath received slight wounds, as Wilmot, Byron, Dives, Sir Charles Lucas" [who was afterwards inhumanly put to death at Colchester], "and some others. . . . . Most of the prisoners were men of mean quality, and so raw soldiers, that they understood not the word 'quarter,' but cried for 'mercy:' they said they were tailors, embroiderers, and the like."

no pardon, were, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Carnarvon, the Earl of Newcastle, the Earl of Bristol, the Earl of Cumberland, the Earl of Rivers, Lord Newark, Lord Falkland, Mr. Hyde, Endymion Porter, and Secretary Nicholas: Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice had been declared TRAITORS long before.

On the 25th of the same month, Essex had entered Worcester with his army, and there he lay passive, notwithstanding his six and thirty Parliamentary councillors, for three weeks, while the King grew strong. When he moved at last, he was by no means eager in his demonstrations, ever lingering in pursuit, and advancing almost regretfully. The object of the King's journey to Chester had been to support Lord Strange ["now become Earl of Derby, by his father's death, this week"]: that Cavalier had been making such active efforts for the Royal cause, in Cheshire and Lancashire, as to draw upon himself the appellation of traitor from the Parliament. The latter had, also, exerted themselves vigorously, and with some success, to counteract the loyal movement, but the King's opportune arrival in the ancient City at once turned the tide of public feeling in his favour. "His gracious and princely demeanour won incredibly upon the people," and Lord Clarendon has preserved to us enough of his public speeches, to prove the eloquence and even tact with which he could render his royal *prestige* irresistible. But his expedition to time-honoured

Chester was not without some very solid advantages. He there found waggons and carriage-horses, with other stores which the Parliament had prepared for Lord Leicester's destined expedition, as Viceroy to Ireland. That nobleman [1] was not a personage of much importance or much affection to either party, but his equipment of horses was very important for the King's ill-furnished and cumbrous artillery, and was, accordingly, appropriated without ceremony. Lord Grandison had, at the same time, possessed himself of some very necessary arms for the Shrewsbury levies, by a dash at the town of Nantwich, which he rode into after a single volley from the citizens.

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[1] Lord Leicester was so disgusted by the loss of his "outfit," that he deferred undertaking the mission to Ireland, and ultimately lost or abandoned it, perhaps diplomatically. I am tempted to give the following letter from Lady Leicester to this nobleman, whilst ambassador at Paris; it is so graceful and pretty, and does so much credit to the sentiment of the time. It exists in Lord de L'Isle's very valuable collection of papers at Penshurst; some part of these papers are published in Collins's Memorials, but a great part remains unknown; letters, armour, and even tresses of hair belonging to the chivalrous Sir Philip, and the philosophic Algernon Sidney, remain still in the possession of their descendant, Lord de L'Isle, to whose kindness I am indebted for their perusal and inspection.

"Mr. Seladine comes in with your letter, whom I am engaged to entertain a little; besides, it is supper-time, or else I should bestow one side of this paper in making love to you; and since I may with modesty express it, I will say that if it be love to think on you, sleeping and waking; to discourse of nothing with pleasure but what concerns you; to wish myself every hour with you; and to pray for you with as much devotion as for my own soul, then certainly it may be said that I am in love."—*Conclusion of a letter from the Countess of Leicester to her husband, then ambassador at Paris*, 1636.

We must now take a survey of the Royal armament at Shrewsbury, and prepare to march to the battle-field of Keinton or Edgehill.

It is difficult, perhaps, for quiet people, in the nineteenth century, living under a powerful and prosperous sovereign, to imagine the enthusiastic sentiment, the passionate loyalty that was excited by the misfortunes of Charles I. To all the devoted affection with which in after times the Pretender's cause was cherished, there was now added the solemn sense of religious duty, and an intense conviction that in their King's safety, all the glory and prosperity of England was involved. Loyalty was, then, to the Cavaliers' politics, what religion was to morals, a rule, a cause, and a foundation. Therefore it was that fathers, and mothers, too, sent their only sons, with joy and pride, to fight for the fatal standard; loving wives embroidered for their husbands the scarlet scarf that was soon to be more deeply dyed: man, woman, and child, wherever loyalty was professed, gave their heart's first wish, their soul's most fervent prayer; for that they freely offered up their wealth, their nearest affections, and their lives, to the advancement of the Royal cause.

The King's array at Shrewsbury, where his little army was assembled, is not to be regarded coldly, as a mere mass of men collected to do a master's bidding for a master's wages. Almost every gentleman and many a poor soldier there, represented some home left unprotected, and household goods endan-

gered. No love of lucre or prospect of ambition had filled up those doomed ranks: the better, and the greater part, were not only volunteers, but self-despoiled, in order to promote the Royal cause. Every gentleman brought with him a retinue, according to his means, together with money, plate, and arms, to furnish which, many a household was stripped bare and many a comfort sacrificed for ever. But it was all for their King! And that, to their brave old-fashioned hearts, was a sacred word and an irresistible appeal.

Not that the Royal army was altogether composed of such materials; had it been so, that King had never died a felon's death upon a scaffold. But that such true-hearted men abounded in his ranks, is proved by the long and desperate struggle they maintained against all the power of Parliament. In our future pages, we shall find some traces of this nobler, purer spirit to the end, but they are far too few, and gradually become still more so. Men of evil and violent passions always work their way into foremost places in troublous times, and leave the stain of their own characters upon their cause: thus, Falkland, Hopton, Carnarvon, are pushed aside by Goring, Digby, and even Lunsford, in the path of notoriety, if not of fame,—as they were but too often, even in the Royal favour.

To the latter the King's preacher, Dr. Symmons, thus addressed himself, in a sermon he preached before the Royal army:—

"Alas! gallant gentlemen and Christian people, you all know there are too many and too great occasions given by some amongst you to our enemies to report evil of us, I beseech you, therefore, in the fear of God, to walk worthy of your employment. You that be commanders I beg of you, that you would more strictly punish sin according to those military orders set forth by his sacred Majesty, your religious master."

To the former, also, he addresses himself in these noble words:—

"A complete Cavalier is a child of honour. He is the only reserve of English gentility and ancient valour, and hath rather chosen to bury himself in the tomb of honour, than to see the nobility [nobleness?] of his nation vassalaged; the dignity of his country captivated or obscured by any base, domestic enemy, or by any foreign fore-conquered foe." "Perhaps you now expect, that by way of use, I should stir you up to be cruel, but, noble gentlemen and soldiers, if I should do so, I should forget myself to be a minister of the Prince of Mercy, and to be a subject of a most merciful King, whose meek and gentle nature, as we all love and admire, so should we strive to imitate. And I bless God for it, I could never yet speak that language of *kill, slay, and destroy*,[1] which the ministers of the rebel

[1] The Puritan pulpits at this time rang with anathemas, and were filled by men whose popularity and influence depended on their vehemence. These "Boanerges," as they delighted to be

side are so skilful in: I durst never incite men to fight up to the back in blood. The spirit of the Gospel is an unbloody spirit—'We,' says the Apostle, speaking of himself and all true ministers of Christ, 'have the mind of Christ which endeavoureth the salvation, not the destruction of men'" . . . .

The preacher then exhorts his soldier-hearers to spare and to be very merciful: to live temperately and in brotherly love; and, in conclusion, he entreats them to fine every one for swearing, according to statute; and of the proceeds, to purchase comforts for the poor rebel prisoners. Jeremy Taylor was also, I believe, one of the Royal Chaplains at this time, and many other eminent Churchmen attended the King's army throughout their service.[1]

It is unnecessary to say there were many noble and excellent persons, "divines" as well as laymen, ranged also on the Parliamentary side:

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called, preached largely from the Pentateuch, and, indeed, many of their doctrines seem better suited for the other side of Jordan than for the banks of the Thames, or for any people whom Christianity has blessed.—

> "Those Roundhead saints of blessed memory,
> Cut throats in Godly pure sincerity;
> So they with lifted hands and eyes devout,
> Said grace, and carv'd a slaughter'd monarch out."
>
> *Oldham's Satyre.*

[1] Four of the most eminent of English theologians were brought into scenes of difficulty, that put their nerve as well as their piety to the proof. Pearson was chaplain to the King's troops at Exeter, under Lord Goring; and Chillingworth acted as engineer at the siege of Gloucester, in 1643; and was only prevented from trying on English fortifications the implements of Roman science by the sudden advance of the Parliamentary army.

their eulogy has been so often and so eloquently proclaimed, that they can well dispense with any testimony from these pages.[1] One admirable letter, however, from Sir William Waller, I cannot refrain from quoting here; it does equal honour to the brave writer, and to his constant and unflinching antagonist, to whom it is addressed, and illustrates the magnanimous spirit in which this great war was carried on by its worthier warriors. With it I shall conclude this long digression, and return to more practical details.

FROM SIR WILLIAM WALLER TO SIR RALPH HOPTON.[2]

"My affections to you are so unchangeable, that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person;

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[1] The Cavaliers, in common opinion, are only recognized as a gallant, dashing, swaggering, swearing, reprobate race, whose example, in all but loyalty and bravery, should be carefully eschewed. It may surprise some of my younger readers to know that prayers were regularly put up at the head of most good regiments, even when paraded on the day of battle; and that each had its own chaplain.

[2] Sir Ralph, afterwards Lord Hopton, heir to one of the most powerful and ancient families in Somersetshire, was born in 1598. He was, early in life, distinguished by an aptness for study and for the attainment of languages, to which he joined an ardent and enterprising spirit. We have seen him at the battle of Prague, and afterwards carrying off the poor Queen of Bohemia from her dangers. He was devoted to her as fervently, and after as pure a fashion, as the other heroes whom she fascinated. For her sake he passed five years of his youth in the wars of the Low Countries and the Palatinate. He was knighted at the coronation of King Charles, and was elected to serve in Parliament for the City of Wells. Like most men of his disposition, he inclined at first towards the popular party, and was selected to read before the King the "Remonstrance" of November, 1641. He, however, soon came to an opposite opinion, and henceforth applied himself

but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. The old limitation of *usque ad aras* holds still. . . . The great God who is the searcher of my heart, knows with what reluctance I go upon this service, and with what perfect hatred I look upon a war without an enemy. But I look upon it as *opus Domini*, and that is enough to silence all passion in me. The God of peace, in his good time, send us peace, and, in the meantime, fit us to receive it! We are both on the stage, and we must act the parts that are assigned us in this tragedy. Let us do it in the way of honour, and without personal animosities."[1]

The forces now assembled at Shrewsbury[2] were unlike any that had ever before, under the Royal standard, assembled at a King of England's summons. The militia, trainbands, or defensive force of the kingdom, were subject to the King's summons by a law, as old as the great Alfred. The Thanes, Ealdormen, the magistrates of boroughs, were bound to keep arms sufficient to arm the men of their

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vigorously to promote the interests of the Crown in his own county. He was almost constantly opposed to Sir W. Waller. After the war he was ambassador to Spain. He married the widow of Sir Justinian Lewen, and, dying childless, the title became extinct. (He had been made a peer in 1643.)

[1] For this letter I am indebted to Mr. Forster's Statesmen.

[2] About this time the Parliament made a sort of overture, through the Earl of Essex, to the King: "He sent a gentleman (Fleetwood, the same who had afterwards so great power in the army, but then a trooper in his guards) to Shrewsbury, without a trumpet, or any other ceremony than a letter to the Earl of Dorset; in which he said, 'he was appointed by the Parliament to cause a petition then in his hands to be presented to his Majesty; and therefore desired his lordship to know his Majesty's pleasure when he should be pleased to receive it, from such persons as he should send over with it.' This petition was received with the same professions that accompanied it, but it came to nothing.

shire; each in proportion to his possessions.[1] These local chiefs were subordinate to the Duke or Heretoch of their county, who, in turn, received orders from the King's Lieutenant. This was the only defence and army provided for the State. When an enemy approached, it rose up suddenly from field and forest to encounter him: when the enemy retired, the patriot force retired also, ebbing away to hut or hamlet till the King was left alone, and powerless against any but a foreign foe. From the time of Alfred, this local force had continued in being, until the day when some few of them were assembled to raise the standard of one Charles, at Nottingham. The organization of this militia throughout that time, and, indeed, until our day, had little changed in principle. The high sounding Duke of the shire, was modified into a Lord-Lieutenant; the Thane into a country squire, and the weapons for the militia are procured by taxation from all subjects of the empire, as well as from sheriff and aldermen, instead of being directly fur-

[1] In Charles II.'s time such as possessed a real estate of 500*l.* per annum, or personal property or goods to the value of 6000*l.* were required to provide a horse-soldier, fully equipped and mounted; such as had not less than 50*l.* rental of real property, or 600*l.* personal, were bound to provide a foot-soldier. Above and below these incomes, the proprietors thereof were bound to furnish more or less force in proportion. The appointment of officers to these troops was vested in the Lords-Lieutenants of counties, the King having power to confirm or annul all such commissions.—*Gleig's Military History.* Under Charles I. it would have been impossible to follow out this system with consistency: the summons of array seems to have been arbitrary.

nished by Shire, Reeve, and Ealdormen.[1] But this, the natural resource of an English King, had failed King Charles. His Royal prerogative had been too deeply and skilfully sapped by the Parliamentary leaders to leave him this important power. When they strove so hard to obtain his sanction to their monopoly of the militia power, they only asked a formal acknowledgment of that which they already virtually possessed.[2] The King's endeavour to turn the trainbands to account had failed; they were not obliged, by law, to serve out of their own counties, beyond whose boundaries their officer, the High-Sheriff, had, of course, no jurisdiction. A striking instance of this is related in Prince Rupert's Diary. It appears that the Leicestershire trainbands had assembled at the Sheriff's (Hastings) summons, and professed their readiness to march with the King. On arriving at the confines of the county, however, one man stood still, and refused to proceed: the

[1] The militia force of England, on paper, consists at this hour to 113 battalions,* but its gallant substitutes of the regular force have long saved it from active service, or even enrolment. Nevertheless, should occasion come, the latent strength of our nation, the untalked of force of our "landwehr," would suddenly be manifested in a manner to strike both friend and foe with wonder. It would probably prove also (by the time the men were fit to fight), that the exigencies of private life required their presence elsewhere, at the loom, the plough, the counter: and that no tax was ever so economical as that which paid a substitute army, to exempt a local militia.

[2] For an account of the City and other trainbands, see Appendix B. vol. i.

* Viz.: for England 76, Ireland 38, Scotland 58—about 800 men in each.

spirit of resistance immediately spread, and the whole regiment declared they would proceed no further. Prince Rupert, accompanied by Prince Maurice and the Sheriff, with a troop of dragoons, rode up to the recusants, and demanded whether they would march. "They said nay: whereupon the Prince clapped his pistol to the head of the man that spoke, and then they all laid down their arms; and, after their example, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire did the like." The men of the "arrays," therefore, were useless to the King except as volunteers, and in that capacity few of the trainbands had offered themselves. The Royal council had suggested the most cautious conduct towards the people, and no impressments had, as yet, taken place on the King's part.[1] The Royal force, such

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion. Musterings were going on also in the north and south, and elsewhere, and less scrupulously as regarded free-will. From Lord Newcastle and Sir Bevill Grenvil we have especial testimony. The former I shall quote hereafter from the "Rupert Papers;" for the latter I am again indebted to Mr. Forster. Sir Bevill thus writes to his wife, "to his best friend, the Lady Grace Grenvil," on the 12th of October, from Bodmin, in Cornwall (he has grown more earnest and somewhat stern since we last heard from him):—

"Dear Love,

"I will detain Sam. Cottle no longer, nor can he bring you much more news than I sent you yesterday. We found men enough at the place appointed, well armed" [the Parliamentary edict had not much force in those remote parts], "and I am impatient (as all my honest friends else are) that we did not march presently to fetch those traitors out of their nest at Launceston, or else fire them in it; but some of our fainter brethren have prevailed so far with the sheriff, that there is to be a conference this day—six of a side—to see if they can compose matters.

as it was, consisted of free men: the King, however, had not observed the same scruples with respect to the arms of the trainbands as he did towards their possessors. These were his most vital want; he "borrowed" them wherever he passed, and wherever his warrants possessed authority throughout the north: it was observed then, as now in Ireland, that weapons seemed to be the most illusory of all calculated possessions: where they had been distributed by tens of thousands they could scarcely be collected by dozens, and even these appeared to have suddenly grown old-fashioned, rusty, and worthless.

When the King mustered his forces, therefore, in the park at Shrewsbury, they presented a most heterogeneous appearance as to arms and equipment. Arms were still the great deficiency; for the rest, the men were of the same sort as those whose

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My neighbours did ill that they came not out, and are punishable by the law in high degree; and though I will do the best I can to save some of the honester sort, yet others shall smart. They were not in this to have commands from me: it is a legal course which the sheriff is directed in by the statute, and not the colonels: but the sheriff may take to his assistance whom he pleases. . . . . The gallant Prince Rupert goes on gloriously in his uncle's service; he hath given another blow to the enemy, greater than the former, and hath well nigh cut off all their cavalry with his, so the great cuckold [Essex] is forced to shut himself up with his foot within the walls of Worcester, not being able to keep the field, whitherward the King is marching with his army to give the last blow, and his army is mightily increased. . . . . I hope we shall shortly see good days again. My noble friend, the brave Wilmot, had a shrewd wound, and the Prince himself slightly hurt, but they killed 2000 of the enemy, with little loss. Your own, "B. GRENVIL."

fathers fought at Hastings and Agincourt, and whose sons won Ramilies and Waterloo. Now, that unconquerable island race was about to contend against its own kind, in the sternest strife that even kindred blood has ever known. As yet unwieldy and uncouth, these devoted men were soon moulded into a fit form to deal or suffer slaughter unflinchingly, by the energy and discipline of the continental Cavaliers. On parade, the front line already presented an imposing appearance, but the rear ranks stood up in warlike attitude with the same garments and weapons, too, as when they left their native fields. Many, especially the Welsh, were only furnished with such instruments as might better have suited a pastoral pageant; scythes, pitchforks, and even sickles: yet with such implements as these they cheerfully take the field, and literally, "like reapers descend to the harvest of death."

Contrasted with these rough, hardy, and defenceless peasants, "rode" the brilliant troop of Guards, commanded by Lord Bernard Stuart, and composed of all the noble and wealthy Cavaliers who had no separate command.[1] With them, as amateurs, armour had, probably, attained its perfection, though it had begun to fall into disuse among the old sol-

[1] Lord Clarendon computes the amount of income possessed by this single troop as at least equal to that of all the Lords and Commons [in London] who made and maintained that war. Sir Philip Warwick, who tells us he himself "rode therein," computes this income at 100,000*l.* per annum, equal, perhaps, to three times that sum according to our present standard.

diers on the Continent.[1] The casque and plume of the knightly old barons were still worn by their descendants; the glittering cuirass, with a broad and ornamented sword-belt worn across it and over the shoulder, the tassets or "*garde de reine*" protecting the wearer from "the waist to the saddle crooch;[2] steel pouldrons, vambraces, mailed gauntlets, and cuisses,[3] sheathed the Cavalier Cuirassier," in every respect, like the knights of Agincourt, but for the boots, which were now almost universally of leather, large, square-toed, and capable of covering half the thigh, though ordinarily worn doubled down below the knee. Over the cuirass was sometimes worn the gorget, in shape resembling its diminutive imitation now carried by our "officers of the day," but far larger. A richly-embroidered lace collar sometimes fell broadly, and in curious contrast, over the steel cuirass, and the hair floated long and loosely over all. For arms, our Cuirassier had a long, but rather slight straight sword, half basket-hilted,[4] and a brace of pistols: some carried a short

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[1] Tilly.—Marechal Grammont found him at the head of his army, mounted on a small Croatian pad, in a green satin doublet with slashed sleeves, and trowsers of the same stuff; a little cocked hat, with a red ostrich plume in it, which reached down to his reins, and a belt round his waist of two inches' breadth, to which hung his fighting sword, with a single pistol in one of his holsters.—*Heath's Life of Gustavus Adolphus*, Pref. 32.

[2] Markham's Souldier's Accidence.

[3] *Pouldron*, for the shoulder, from *épaule; vambrace*, for the front arm, from *avantbras; cuisses*, for the thighs.

[4] Mr. Ormsby Gore has a very interesting relic at Porkington, it is the sword of Sir Charles Lucas, presented by that gallant

battle-axe besides, at their saddle-bow.[1] Such was the equipment of the King's body Guards, who so fatally for his cause at Edgehill, resented the epithet of "*the show troop*," and extorted permission to make a too successful charge. The ordinary cavalry troops were not very dissimilarly appointed; most of them were sturdy yeomen, able to bring their own horses into the field: they were generally equipped by their landlords or great neighbours, from the well-stored armouries that were then the pride of every English gentleman's ancestral hall. Harquebusier was a common term for this yeoman-trooper: he wore a lighter head-piece than the Cavalier, with bars of iron to protect the face, instead of a vizor,

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Cavalier, a short time before his execution, to the brave Sir John Owen, an ancestor of Mr. Ormsby Gore's: it is such as I have described, and such as many ancient armouries can shew, but it is distinguished by the following inscription (as well as I recollect, for I quote from memory), "To my honoured friend, Sir John Owen, by whom it will always be carried with honour."

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, 266, &c. I have taken the above and the following detail principally from Markham's "Souldier's Accidence," published 1645; Munroe's "Art of War;" Orrery's "Art of War;" "Observations," &c. by the Duke of Albemarle; Scott's notes to "Rokeby;" Grose's "Military Antiquities;" and Meyrick's adaptation of that work to his own armoury, under another name, and Gleig's "Military History." After all, I only profess to offer an approximation to these costumes, &c., for almost every old picture and print differs from its fellow. This armour must have been sufficiently cumbrous to justify James I.'s sneer: "Such armour is an excellent and Christian invention, for it not only protects the wearer, but hinders him from doing much harm to any body else." Munroe, a sensible and well-experienced Scotch veteran in the "wars of the Swede," says, "that armour ought to be worn not because men are afraid, but that they *should not* be afraid."

and only a haquetin, (or back and breast piece) of steel: his harquebuss or carbine, three feet long, was generally his only weapon, except his long straight sword. The dragoon was the third class of cavalry, and considered a most indispensable arm of the service;[1] he wore a buff coat, cut somewhat in the shape of a shooting jacket, with long skirts: his head-piece was an iron skull-cap, with cheek-pieces of the same metal: his musket ("fair dragons," Markham calls them) is fitted to be slung by a leathern belt across the right shoulder; another belt had attached to it a string of "carter-lages," with powder flask and "priming-box," and a good sword.[2] There were some few lancers but they were soon abandoned, and we never hear of them except at Marston Moor. The cavalry in general was considered by far the most effective branch of the service, and indeed there were so many men of gen-

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[1] They were evidently originally so called from dragon, as they fought in air or on the ground, mounted or on foot. Except in cases of surprise, however, they seldom fired on horseback, and never charged: they were, in fact, infantry with horses, to enable them to make more rapid movements: they were thrown forward to feel the way, skirmishing from behind ditches as they advanced, or covering a retreat in the same fashion: one man held ten horses in the rear, while his comrades, their riders, fought. Their long carbines were called dragons, from the cock being made in that shape.—*Orrery's Art of War.*

[2] Such was the cavalry supposed to be. Their general array, however, was probably much more simple: a "pot" (iron skull-cap), "back and breast-piece," any fire-arms they could get, carbine, pistol, or "petronel;" the horse was furnished with "a great saddle or pad, having bars and straps for affixing the holsters, a bit and bridle, with a pectoral and crupper, also, a sack of carriage" (or haversack).—*Munroe; Orrery.*

tle blood who served in the saddle, that their order was almost as equestrian as of old. They were at once the most fatal to the King and to his enemies; their first charge was terrible, and for the most part, irresistible, but the mettle that spurred them into desperate daring, ran away with them afterwards: they never could be taught discipline; jealous and proud of their independence, and fiercely chary of their fancied personal importance, control over these wild and dashing troops was unattainable even by the stern Rupert.

The firmest strength of the army lay, of course, in the infantry: although a great part of their ranks were merely pikemen, even these were happily termed by Orrery, "the moving fortress of the field." Gustavus Adolphus was the first who recognized and increased the importance of infantry. In his time and during at least the earlier part of the civil war, the pikemen held the post of honour.[1] His pikemen, as well as the musqueteer, wore a leathern doublet,[2] steel cap, cloth hose, and square-toed shoes, with a large rosette. The pikeman, when he could get it, wore a back and breast piece

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[1] The first place of honour in marching is at the head of the pikes; the second is at the rear of the pikes.—*Munroe.*

[2] The simplest, safest, cheapest, most economical, and most lasting dress a soldier ever took the field in: it was for the most part bullet-proof, impervious to rain, and, if well made, would serve successive generations; being laid aside after Cressy, probably, to be resumed unimpaired at Naseby. I have seen many leathern doublets that have, perhaps, covered stout hearts in both

of steel, with an iron hook on the former, whereon to hang his steel cap while marching. The musqueteer wore a "bandolier"[1] over the left shoulder, a sword belt over the right: his matchlock-rest[2] was sometimes attached to his left wrist, while not in use, and sometimes he had a boy allowed him to carry this cumbrous piece of artillery for him.

It must not be supposed that the Royal army, now on parade in Shrewsbury, was thus furnished. But they soon supplied themselves with the habiliments of the well-appointed Roundheads; and the poor fellows who hung back, or were put away in the rear, because they had only cudgels in their horny fists, had the greater satisfaction in contemplating the much-desired collision that was to clothe them not only with honour, but with accoutrements.[3]

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those battles, and that at this moment would be a far more satisfactory garment than could be made from coarse cloth, saturated by the first shower, and torn by the first scramble through bush or over wall.

[1] A broad belt with charges of powder, hung by little cords: the bullets were carried in a little bag, or in the *mouth* for immediate use.

[2] There were locks to the pistols and petronels of the cavalry, but none, I think, to the infantry musket; the former were wound up like a watch, by an instrument called a *spanner*, and when let off by the trigger the flint was brought against a rough surface, that gave the spark by friction; these were called *snaphaunces*.

[3] This heterogeneous army had a still more heterogeneous following of not only noble ladies and devoted wives, but a widely contrasted description of women, with horse-boys (or *paddees*), and all the human scum that necessarily gathers round fermented masses. For these the following orders apply:—

"Women who follow an army may be ordered, if they can be ordered, into three classes. 1st, Shall be those who are ladies,

The Parliamentary regiments, as I have said, were for the most part, already regimented and dressed according to the livery of their colonels; the orange scarf over buff or steel distinguished those who had no other uniform.[1] But the Cavalier infantry had

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wives of the general and other principal commanders of the army, who for the most part are carried in coaches, but those coaches must drive according to the quality of their husbands, and as appointed by the waggon-master-general. The second class is of those who ride on horseback, and these must ride in no other place than where the baggage of the regiment to which they belong marches; but they are very often extravagant, *i. e.* gadding here and there, and therefore are sometimes put in companies with one to command and oversee them, called in Germany "Hureweibles." I have seen these ride, keep troop, rank and file very well after their captain, and a banner which one of the women carried. The third class is of those who walk a foot; they must abide by the baggage of the regiment to which their husbands belong, and over them the several regiment-marshals have inspection. They are very useful, they wash their husbands linen, provide fuel, &c. At the siege of Breda, by Spinola, it was observed that the married men were able to do more duty than the single ones. In well-ordered armies there are, or ought to be, none but married women, if there be any others they should be put away by the minister or priest with ignominy conformable to all articles of war."—*Harl. Coll.* No. 6844. In the campaign of the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries there were with the army troops of courtezans, commanded by captainesses and other officeresses, with banners of their own and strict discipline. Formerly one boy was allowed to each two soldiers to procure fuel, water, &c. They were found in Henry V.'s army.—*Grose, Mil. Ant.* vol. i. 261.

[1] Besides those regiments I have before mentioned on Lord Nugent's authority, the Parliamentary army had Sir William Constable's "blue coats," Lord Robarts' "red coats," Colonel Meyrick's "grey coats," and Lord Saye's "blue coats." In later times we find, on the Royalist side, the Marquis of Newcastle's "white coats" (the Lambs), Lord Northampton's "green coats," and Prince Rupert's "black coats." Colonel Legge was taken prisoner (often his fate!) by mistaking Hampden's "green coats" for those of Lord Northampton. The Cavaliers now wore scarlet scarves

J. W. Cook sc.

COLONEL LUNSFORD.

FROM AN UNIQUE PRINT IN THE SUTHERLAND COLLECTION AT THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

little to attract the eye; every man was dressed at his own cost and according to his own fancy, as far as he could afford to indulge it. His pay was considerable, and now regular; the contributions of the wealthier Cavaliers, the neighbouring gentry, and the universities, enabling the King to be punctual in his payments. As almost all the circulating medium was silver, however, the mint that was now set up could coin but slowly, only 1000*l.* a-week by the utmost exertions. The troops, however, were well contented, and, as yet, well conducted; provisions were plentiful and cheap, and their cause was favoured by the country round.[1]

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as a badge, as we shall see at Chalgrove fight, as they did in the Scotch campaign of 1639 and 1640. The various uniforms that British troops have worn are curious to trace, even since the era of standing armies, but much more in former times: for instance, when the Earl of Leicester, accompanied by Sir Philip Sidney, landed at Flushing to support the Protestant cause; out of six thousand, four thousand Londoners accompanied him in *red*, the Queen's troops being generally grey. The troops gathered to oppose the Armada carried lances, spears, bills, and bows, but very few muskets. The Queen's infantry was "sadd greene," the cavalry grey with scarlet cloaks. "Henry VIII. had "blew coats guarded with redde clothe:" the *right hose* was to be *red*, the *left blue*, with a strip of red down the side."—*Gleig's Military History.*

[1] The pay of a general commanding was enormous for those times, 10*l.* a-day, as I find from Lord Denbigh's, and others, papers: but then these generals were generally men of high rank and great local influence, whom it was necessary to keep in good humour. Lord Denbigh, as general-in-chief for the Parliament and the associated counties of Staffordshire, Warwickshire, &c., received his salary regularly, equal to about 18,000*l.* a-year now; while his subordinates complain bitterly of want, and some of his cavalry pawned their horses and accoutrements in order to buy food.—*Earl of Denbigh's MS. Collect;* also *May, Par. Hist.*

Prince Rupert was General of the Royal horse, General Lord Ruthven acted as his Lieutenant-General from choice, though he was made field-marshal before the army left Shrewsbury. Sir Arthur Aston, "of whose soldiery there was a very great esteem,"[1] commanded the dragoons, and Sir John Heydon the small park of artillery. Lord Grandison commanded one regiment of horse which he had himself raised; Sir John Byron another, paid for by Lord Worcester. Lord Digby had some two or three troops; and there were others attached to different infantry regiments from Wales, Cheshire, and Lancashire. These last were, probably, brigaded according to circumstances in the field. One remarkable troop I had nearly forgotten, though it fought well; it was composed of the servants of Lord Bernard's aristocratic troop, and was commanded by Sir William Killigrew.[2]

The infantry was formed into three brigades, under Sir Nicholas Byron, Colonel Harry Wentworth, and Colonel Fielding; Sir Jacob Astley being Major-General under the Earl of Lindsey, as Commander-in-Chief. Unfortunately, we have no ac-

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[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, iii. 266, who says elsewhere, that "He was the only Papist officer, if he *was* a Papist;" and that "there were very few common soldiers of that religion, though the Parliament, while too wise to refuse any stout volunteer themselves, denounced the entire Royal army by their declarations and their pulpits, which they kept 'tuned to the same key,' as Popish."

[2] The subjoined order from the King, proves that there was some armour still remaining in the King's scanty stores: they

count less vague than this, which Lord Clarendon, a most unmilitary-minded man, has furnished: but the army increases in interest as it rolls along, and acquires individuality. By the time the King was prepared to march, his forces were almost all armed, more or less, except three or four hundred who still marched without any weapons except cudgels. On the 12th of October the Royal trumpets "sounded to the Standard," and the King began his march towards London.

The Roundheads had promised their friends and, perhaps, themselves, that they should only require a demonstration of physical force against the King; that he would never be able to raise an army, or prevail on a single town to declare in his favour.

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had probably been reserved until the actual wants of each regiment were ascertained; but now no time remained for further arrangement:

THE KING TO PRINCE RUPERT.

"CHARLES, R.

"Whereas there are sundry quantities of horsemen's arms, as backs and pots, remaining in our magazine here at Shrewsbury, which we have appointed for the arming of our regiments of horse, but the same are not sent for by the colonels of the same, which we conceive proceeds from their want of knowing our pleasure therein, we do therefore hereby pray and require you to signify unto our said colonels, our will and pleasure to be, that carts should be impressed, by your warrant, for fetching the said arms, and that such colonels, who first shall send, shall first be furnished; and herein the more diligence is to be used, because of the sudden march of our army.—Given under our sign manual, at our Court at Shrewsbury, this 9th of October, 1642."

"To our dear nephew,—Prince Rupert, Captain-General of all our Forces of Horse."

In less than three weeks, such predictions were signally falsified: not only had the King found friends, but an army had started up from among the people at his call; a battle already had been fought and won, and now half the kingdom had arrayed itself against the power, the wealth, the resources, and the plausibilities of the Parliament.

In the west, Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Bevill Grenvil held Barnstaple, Pendennis, and Dartmouth, for the King; Ashburnham guarded Weymouth; and Lord Hertford still shewed a bold front in Somersetshire. The King occupied the Welsh borders as far as Bridgenorth, with all the Principality at his back, and a loyal region connecting Shrewsbury with the north. In Yorkshire, the Earl of Newcastle [1] was in prevailing force, though the Fairfaxes were there energetically striving for the Parliament.

Scotland was quiet for the present, ruminating on future raids, and chewing the cud of the Covenant.

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[1] About this time the Prince received the following letter from the Earl of Newcastle: it betrays none of the jealous, if not angry feeling attributed to his lordship towards the Prince. Lord Newcastle was at this time employed in raising forces; amongst others, those "lambs," that so heroically distinguished themselves and fell at Marston Moor:

THE EARL OF NEWCASTLE TO PRINCE RUPERT.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

"I as heartily congratulate your safety as your victory,* for your person, sir, is to be valued above a kingdom, since you value

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* At Powick Bridge.

Ireland rested from her slaughters, and yearned with her Roman Catholic heart towards any party that opposed the intolerant Roundheads. The Continental powers of Europe were well contented to look on, and contemplate our indomitable Islanders cutting their own throats.

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it so little in respect of your honour and love to his Majesty. Your Highness hath not brought us, but made us good fortune, and let us all see how weak the ordinance of two Houses of Parliament is. God prosper your Highness so to the end.

"Your Highness' most faithful obliged servant,

"W. NEWCASTLE."

"Newcastle, the 7th of October, 1642."

APPENDIX.

A.

LAUD.

It is only just to the memory of this amiable, able, and unfortunate prelate, to speak of his *private* character, for the sake of the few who have not made themselves acquainted with it, or have only done so through the medium of his enemies. It seems also necessary to substantiate the often repelled, but not refuted charge I have brought against him. Laud's public administration and large share in producing the troubles of the king and kingdom, have been alluded to in the text (pp. 165, 166). In page 131 I have stated that he found the Church in a healthy state, and left it a prey to dissent, owing to the persecuting rigour with which he strove incessantly to force his peculiar views of church-discipline down the throats of those who could ill digest it. Lord Clarendon, the Archbishop's zealous and unflinching friend, says that the year 1633 (*i. e.* the period of Laud's accession to the Primacy) "was a period of great ease and tranquillity." . . "The general temper and humour of the kingdom were little inclined to the Papist, and *less to the Puritan*." . . "The Church was not repined at, nor [was there] the least inclination to alter the government and discipline thereof, or to change the doctrine."[1] I conceive that no assertion can be more decisive than this is; coming, as it does, from the most unexceptionable authority on this particular

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, i. 162-3.

point. When Laud's career was ended, the rampant condition of schism and dissent is notorious. Lord Clarendon also asserts, in the same page, that there was a jealous feeling concerning Popery, and anything "of innovation calculated to please the Papists." Laud was one among the many who had not perceived the growth of the power of Public Opinion, and probably if he had recognized that power, his nature would have delighted the more in braving it. The People were especially jealous of Signior Con, the Pope's nuncio, and of Price, the Superior of the Benedictine Convent; yet these two "great politicians and statesmen were so great with the Bishop of Canterbury, that they had free access to him at all times."[1] The fact of Laud's being offered a cardinal's hat argues that the Pope held the same opinion of him that the English people did, and he does not himself deny that he listened to the temptation; he only says (in his own diary) "there was something within him which would not let him accept the cardinal's hat, until Rome were other than she was." Doubtless there was much in that great Church that attracted him, but he seems only to have been guilty of want of tact, as regards the People, not of apostasy, as regarded his own Church. The discipline of Rome, the solemnity, the magnificence of her ritual, the eloquence of her liturgy, fascinated a mind that yearned to see his Church triumphant even in worldly show. But her doctrines never reached his heart: there is no more vehement or powerful declamation against Popery to be found in ecclesiastical literature than he has left us. He was even himself sensitive of some relics of Popery that seem harmless to us: when he saw so many wooden images of Christ at Oxford, he quaintly exclaimed: "Is not this the Carpenter's Son?"[2] When his death was compassed by as foul means as ever Jeffries employed to assassinate

[1] Somers' Tracts, p. 468.

[2] Ward's Diary, 1656.

with safety and legal form,[1] Laud appeared in his true light. About to leave the world, his worldly error fell from him, like some travel-stained garment, and he stood upon the scaffold as pure and noble a victim as the revolutionary furies ever claimed for their bloody altar. His dying speech has never been surpassed in touching simplicity, nobleness, and eloquence. Let those who read it, divest themselves of all prelatic and other prejudices; and only consider it as containing the last words of a Christian minister, uttered in the bitter hour of trial, the moment before a terrible death: his next thought was to be uttered in another world. This conviction pledges to the truth of these solemn words: solemn in their simplicity, their circumstance, and their appeal to man, through God.[2]

Lord Clarendon describes Archbishop Laud as "a scholar of the most sublime parts."[3] He had attained his high place "without the least condescension to the arts and stratagems of the Court, and without any other friendship or support than what the splendour of a pious and unpolished integrity would reconcile to him. . . . He was only too secure in a good conscience, and a most *sincere worthy intention*, . . . which exposed him to such a torrent of adversity and misery as we shall have too natural occasion to lament in the following discourse, in which it will be more seasonable to enlarge upon his

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[1] "Nor did I wrong Mr. Pryn when I say, 'that for all the haste to put in my answer, January 22, he could not make this broken business so soon ready against me.' For 'tis well known he kept a kind of school of instruction for such of the witnesses as he durst trust, that they might be sure to speak home to the purpose he would have them. And this an utter barrister, a man of good credit, knows; who, in the hearing of men beyond exception, said, 'The archbishop is a stranger to me, but Mr. Pryn's tampering about the witnesses is so palpable and foul, that I cannot but pity him and cry shame for it.'"—*Laud's Diary*, p. 216.

[2] Since the above was printed, an article in the Quarterly Review, on the Duke of Argyle's lucid and enlightened essay on Presbytery, has expressed some very original and able opinions concerning this great Churchman: especially in pp. 98 and 99 (No. 167).

[3] Rebellion, i. 160.

singular abilities and immense virtue."[1] "In short," says Archbishop Williams' biographer, "Laud was a man fit for primitive times, but Williams to comply with the weakness of his own; the one being fit to govern saints, the other to deal with man, the difficulter task by far."[2] On the day that Laud was condemned to die, the Puritan *Directory* was voted to replace the *Liturgy*. The former was composed by an "assembly of Divines, neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or knowledge, only elected as each member of Parliament in his fancy thought fit."[3]

Then rushed forth Sectarianism triumphant—Ranters, Independents, Anabaptists, Familists, Seekers, Brownists —to the destruction of all public and all private peace. Ecclesiastical intolerance is evil, but social intolerance far more intolerable. Men of learning and grave responsibilities may be sometimes unworthy ministers, but sure not better were the ignorant men, women, and children, the preachers, prophets, and enthusiasts, who now entered upon the presumptuous teaching of how to make men wise unto salvation.

B.

TRAINBANDS, OR MUNICIPAL GUARDS.

THESE city trainbands constituted then, as now, the most unserviceable and yet dangerous force that could be called upon. They answered to the Municipal Guards that in Berlin, Paris, and Rome, have lately shewn themselves, "so weak to save, so vigorous to destroy." They appear to be the least national and the most partizan of all troops; the most ready instruments for revolution, the least faithful to the cause that they espouse. They merge their common sense and citizen character in the pseudo-military spirit that only apes the vices and violence of the

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[1] Rebellion, i. 116. [2] Ambrose Philips. [3] Milton.

soldier, without the fidelity, simplicity, or heroism that redeems him.[1] Why these peculiarities of character should belong so much more to city than to rural militia, it would not be difficult to explain; the latter alone still exists as a recognized force *(in posse)* amongst us now.[2]

In Henry the Second's reign, it was enacted, with consent of Parliament, that every freeman, according to the value of his estate or movables, should hold himself constantly furnished with suitable arms and equipments.[3] Under Edward the First, further enactments increased the stringency of these martial obligations on the subject: every man who possessed fifteen pounds a-year in rent, or forty marks in goods, was obliged to provide for his own use, or that of his substitute, a hauberk, a breastplate, a knife, a sword, and a horse: his armour to be inspected every six months by constables chosen for each Hundred.[4] The sheriff, as chief conservator of the public peace, had always possessed the right of summoning the "Posse Comitatûs," or the assistance of all the King's subjects within his jurisdiction, in cases of rebellion, robbery, or obstruction of legal process.[5] In seasons of public danger, when France or Scotland was to be invaded or repelled, it became customary to issue "Commissions of Array," empowering the Commissioners "to muster and train all men capable of bearing arms within each county thus

[1] To this class we have fortunately now no corresponding one in England, and to that is probably owing, in a great measure, our impunity from modern revolution. The special constable is an admirable substitute, and peculiarly English: about him there is nothing assumed or mock-military. Manly, spontaneous, and strong, he constitutes a force invaluable in an emergency; the moral influence of such a body is one great source of its strength—it represents the true genius, will, and power of the people as opposed to that of the mob.

[2] Lord Hervey, on occasion of the Porteous riots in Edinburgh, proposed to do away with that armed and disciplined part of the mob called the Town-guard: "For what purpose," said he, "can the Court desire to continue the use of a weapon which has always been blunt when employed for you, and pointed when directed against you?"—*Memoirs.*

[3] Lyttleton's Henry II., iii. 354.

[4] Stat. 13 Edw. I.

[5] Hallam's Const. Hist. i. 543.

addressed, and to hold them in readiness to defend the kingdom.[1] These ancient provisions, however (but not the spirit of them), were abrogated by James the First, in his first Parliament: they had been principally useful, or used against the Scots, and now that the succession of the Scottish King had consolidated the two realms into one, there were no more "borders," as Louis the Fourteenth proclaimed of the Pyrenees.

The British monarch was determined to have no more war, whatever might be sacrificed to that object, and the weapons of offence that had been so widely distributed, were now collected into "magazines."[2] This measure, no doubt, tended to civilization and humanity; the people, when thus disarmed, were induced to turn their thoughts to the public laws, as a better security than private means of vengeance or defence. Thenceforth the rural population, at least, fell into entire desuetude of war and warlike discipline: on some few occasions, small and local levies were made, as for the Palatinate, and for the expeditions to Cadiz and Rochelle; but these did not affect the kingdom at large. On the latter occasion I find, from the archives of Coventry, that Coventry—and I presume other similar towns, were ordered to muster and array their trainbands, "for the defence of the kingdom, during the absence of the fleet."[3] The citizens of London, indeed, mustered their trainbands on holidays, and the "honourable artillery company" even then was in high repute.[4]

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[1] Mr. Hallam says, the earliest of these Commissions of Array to be found in Rymer is in 1324, the latest in 1557.

[2] At Hull, for instance, Newcastle, Leicester, and other chief towns of counties, of which we have many things to relate hereafter.

[3] This order may be seen in the Coventry archives, which contain a good deal of interesting matter relating to earlier periods: there are few documents relating to the Civil Wars in the public records of this or, I believe, of any other town. An index or digest of the archives of our chief towns would be a very valuable acquisition to our historical libraries, and not very difficult of compilation.

[4] "Artillery" was, at this time, applied to the long bow.—*Grose*, i. 150.

C.

I THINK it may be interesting to some of my readers to peruse the manuscripts relating to Prince Rupert's life, as it was intended to have been printed. It is evidently made up from many loose notes and a diary, which I have used as well as this in the text. In these notes are several trifling circumstances omitted in this detailed relation; but they are so scattered and fragmentary it would be almost impossible to print them: I imagine the history, in this form, was written by Rupert's secretary, Colonel Benett, during the Prince's lifetime.

"THE LIFE OF PRINCE RUPERT.[1]

"Prince Rupert was the third son of Frederick, King of Bohemia, and Count Palatine of the Rhine, and of Elizabeth, the only daughter of James I., monarch of Great Britain, descended, on the father's side, from sovereign princes, by a fair and known succession of above twelve hundred years; and on the mother's, from the most ancient crown of Christendom: for the truth whereof we shall here refer the reader to the genealogy itself.[2]

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[1] This must have been written about the year 1678. The internal evidences prove the date of its composition to have been previous to the Elector Palatine's death, and subsequent to that of Monk in 1670. In the notes for his own instruction, the anonymous writer refers to an edition of Baker's Chronicle, 1674, now in my possession. In order not to detract from any interest that may be found in *my* relation, I have only printed the Prince's early biography in this volume: the italics are mine, and the modern spelling.

[2] "THE GENEALOGY OF PRINCE RUPERT, THIRD SON TO THE KING OF BOHEMIA.

"*Taken out of Authentic Authors and Records.*

"This Prince *began to be illustrious many ages before his birth*, and we must look back into history above two thousand years, to discover the first rays of his glory. We may consider him very great, being descended from the two most illustrious and ancient Houses of Europe, that of England and the Palatines of the Rhine.

"It is true we find no certain succession of the Palatines of the Rhine but for twelve hundred years. The first of their ancestors that

"Being to take our rise to this history from a capital disaster in Bohemia, it will be proper to say something of

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is recorded in history is Adellaheren, whom the Bavarians chose King of the Huns, immediately after the death of the famous Attila, about the middle of the fifth century. The most famous account we read of him was the battle he fought near Cologne, where he was killed by Clovis, King of France, after having long disputed the victory with a courage that put astonishment and fear in the very conqueror himself.

"So great a man, and chosen by the Germans for their King, and after Attila, shews he was not the first renowned Prince of his race; and this reason *alone is sufficient to persuade* us that he was as considerable in his blood as in his valour. Yet, in all appearance, he has been more famous in his successors than in his ancestors, and the Princes which have descended from him are more glorious than those from whom he himself descended.

"This we see in Charlemagne, the greatest Emperor since Constantine, who came in a direct line from Adellaheren, more than three hundred years after him; during which time his ancestors were called Dukes of Bavaria, and they rendered their name great in the world by those eminent virtues which supported it.

"Charlemagne, who succeeded them, shined with so much honour, that he obscured theirs, and the world was so filled with acclamations of his glory, that they almost forgot to make mention of his predecessors. He had many children: the most considerable in story were Pepin, Louis, and Charles. Pepin, who was called Carloman, reigned in Italy, and would have been Emperor had he lived four years longer, but he died in the ninth century, and his father in the fourteenth: so the empire came to the second son, who, from the excellence of his piety, had the name given him of "Louis the Good." He wore the Imperial Crown six-and-twenty years, and his children after him till the eleventh year of the succeeding century. Charles died the same year his brother Pepin did, and history reports him to have been a King.

"It had been doubtless a great honour to have descended from any son of Charlemagne, although the youngest. But the Palatines of the Rhine and Dukes of Bavaria, which were not then distinguished, have this advantage, that they descended from the eldest, coming directly from a King of Italy, called Wernard, or Bernard, who died in the year eight hundred and eighteen, and was the son of Pepin, the eldest son of Charlemagne.

"Bernard had a son, named Pepin, as his grandfather, who was Count of Longenfeilet and Duke of Nordgaw; and it is by him that the blood of Charlemagne comes to this Prince whose story we are writing. The year this Pepin died is not known, nor the account that made him memorable, but his posterity is known to have gained much honour in the world. It had for nearly three centuries the principal charges of the empire, and became so powerful about the end of the thirteenth century, by the union of all Bavaria and the Palatinate, that the Emperors grew jealous of their greatness.

"This was the state of this illustrious family under Otho, the first Count Palatine and Duke of the Two Bavarias. He had two sons, Louis

the occasion of those troubles, by way of introduction to this following discourse.

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and Henry: the Lower Bavaria was allotted to the youngest; the Upper and the Palatinate to the eldest. Henry had no long posterity; it ended fifty years after him. Then the Lower Bavaria was joined again to the Upper. Louis, the elder, was much happier in the succession of his race, it continuing until this day in the two Houses of the Palatine and Bavaria, which descended both directly from this Prince.

"He had three sons, Rodolph, Frederic, and Louis; but the second having been killed in a tournament, very young, left his father's territories to be divided between the other two. Rodolph, the eldest, would give only a maintenance to the youngest, and retained to himself the Palatinate and the Upper Bavaria. But Louis, who had an ambitious mind, not being contented with the allotment of his eldest brother, provided better for himself when his election to the empire had given him power equal to his ambition. Then he made war upon his brother, and forced him, for sanctuary, to fly into England, where he died about the twentieth year of the fourteenth century. Louis was called "The Bavarian," and it is from him that all the Dukes of Bavaria, by a continual succession of eminent Princes, have to this day continued. The Palatines of the Rhine come from Rodolph, being the eldest. He married Melchtilde, the daughter of an Emperor of the same name with himself, and had by her three sons. The youngest died without children. The second had but one daughter, who married the Emperor Charles the Fourth. The eldest, who was called Adolph, had a son called Rupert, and this Rupert had another of the same name, but much more renowned. His virtue was equal to his birth, and he acquired so great esteem and authority, that, notwithstanding all those illustrious competitors which then were, he was chosen and crowned Emperor, with the universal applause of Europe. He reigned from the first to the tenth or eleventh year of the fifteenth century. His merit and his children rendered his memory as glorious as his life, and Germany would long have lamented his death, had he not left six Princes to survive him. But the race was preserved only in the youngest. The eldest was Prince Elector, whose posterity ceased about one hundred years since. The second was taken by the Turks. The third married Erigh, daughter to the King of Denmark, by whom he had a son, called Christian, who was King of Denmark and Sweden, and died without children in the tenth year of his reign. The fourth died very young. The fifth lived to see his race perish, and his children retiring themselves in a cloister. The sixth and last son and Emperor, Rupert, had the advantage over all his brothers, to support alone, by his posterity, for these last hundred years, the name and glory of all the family. He was called 'Prince of Cimmon,' and so were all his successors, till the middle of the last century; then, the eldest House being ended, he inherited the title and sovereignty of the Palatinate. Frederic, the third of that name, was the first inheritor of it. His son, Louis the Sixth, succeeded him; and afterwards his grandchild, Frederic the Fourth, who was the father of Frederic the Fifth, the deceased Prince Elector, of famous memory, vicar of the empire, King of Bohemia, and father of our Hero."—*MS. Lansdown*, 1194, fol. 24.

"The Emperor, Rodulph II., finding himself in a great strait betwixt the importunities of the Protestants for the free exercise of their religion, on the one hand; and the violent practices and attempts of his brother, the Arch-Duke Mathias, on the other; was reduced, in the end, to compound with both; granting unto Mathias the kingdom of Hungary, the Arch-Duchy of Austria, the Marquisate of Moravia; and also the right of succession to the kingdom of Bohemia (in case of the Emperor's decease without issue male); and this clause inserted into his title, *designed King of Bohemia.* To the Protestants, in assembly, at Prague, May, 1608, he granted a toleration of religion, and allowance of churches to preach in, with other privileges, and justifying all their past proceedings; declaring, moreover, that whoever should presume to give them any sort of molestation in the enjoyment of these liberties, should be deemed and proceeded against as public enemies. In the year 1611, the Emperor propounded to the States of Bohemia the crowning of his brother Mathias, King of Bohemia, and that he might forthwith take possession of the government; the States, in the meantime, providing him with a competent revenue, for the support of his kingly-dignity, whereupon the assembly presented the Arch-Duke with several articles (previous to his coronation) for him to swear unto, as the conditions of his admittance. And this being done; they proceeded to the crowning of him; but only as a titular sovereign, he having divested himself of most of his regalia by that capitulation. This was in the month of April: and upon the 10th of January following, Rodulph departed this life; his brother Mathias succeeding him, who was crowned at Frankfort, on the 14th of June, 1612. In the year 1617, the Emperor Mathias, called an assembly at Prague; where he gave the States to understand that, having no issue of his own, he had thought fit to adopt the Arch-Duke Ferdinand (his cousin-german), out of a respect to

his abilities and virtues. And therefore desired that they would choose him for their future King; especially since the whole House of Austria were consenting to that election. The States, after a formal debate, returned their thanks to the Emperor; with an account that they had chosen him for their King; and that he should be proclaimed, upon certain conditions, exhibited together with their answer: which being accorded on the 9th of June, he was crowned upon the 29th. In the year following, the Protestant States met at Prague, to deliberate upon their grievances; where, being opposed, they threw some of the Emperor's council out of a window; and then published a remonstrance in justification of the proceeding, laying the blame upon the Archbishop of Prague, and other usurpers upon the liberties which both Randulphus and the present Emperor himself had confirmed unto them. The Bohemians immediately upon this sent to all their confederates for aid, and betook themselves to their arms: and the Emperor, on the other side, left no means unattempted, either by treaty or force, to bring them to terms of peace and obedience. The war being already begun, was followed by the death of the Emperor, March 10, 1619; and upon the 10th of July following the electors met at Frankfort, upon a new choice: the directors of Bohemia sending three ambassadors also to assist at the election; but they were not admitted into the town, whereupon they sent in their exceptions to the choice of King Ferdinand, and insisted upon their own proprietary right to an interest in the election. But this opposition notwithstanding, Ferdinand was chosen King of the Romans, August 18th; and upon the 30th he was crowned.

"The States of Bohemia absolutely disclaiming him; and binding themselves by an oath never to acknowledge him for their King. So that they proceeded thereupon to a new election, and pitched upon Frederick V., Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

"This election being in due form concluded and proclaimed by the unanimous vote and consent of the States of Bohemia, together with the deputies of the incorporated provinces then assembled at Prague: the said States did forthwith, by their ambassadors, advertise his electoral highness at Heidelberg of their proceeding: who received them with singular respect, and yet putting them off with delays till he might consult his friends, and second thoughts upon the matter. In the first place he advised with the Princes and Protestant States in the union; who were all of them for his acceptance of this charge, as a thing that might very much conduce to the common good of the empire. And after this, he despatched away Baron Dane, upon an embassy to his father-in-law, King James; desiring to have his Majesty's opinion along with him upon the whole affair. But the condition of Bohemia being then upon a pinch, and the Prince of Anhalt (his particular confidant) pressing Prince Frederick to a speedy and positive resolution, his Electoral Highness was prevailed upon, without staying for King James's answer, to undertake the Government out of hand; although with a dangerous, and, as it proved, a fatal war, annexed to the dignity.

"This resolution being taken, the Elector Palatine fell presently to the settling of all things in the Palatinate,—committing the civil administration to the Duke of Deux-Ponts, his kinsman, and matters of war to the Count of Nassau; and so put himself, with his family and retinue, upon his journey. The ambassadors of Bohemia, and the confederate provinces, met him upon the way at Walsacken, where they presented him with the grounds they had proceeded upon, and the conditions whereupon his Highness was desired to accept of the Government. These points being fully agreed on both parts, the new elect King of Bohemia passed forward to Prague, where he arrived on the last of October, in which city he was

crowned upon the 4th of November, and his princess the Lady Elizabeth upon the 7th, with Royal pomp and solemnity, and with the infinite joy and acclamation of the people.

"Now, to pass over the business of the war, and come directly to our subject; his Highness, Prince Rupert (not Robert, according to the vulgar mistake), was born at Prague, the capital city of Bohemia, on the 27th of December, 1619. The solemnity of his baptism was very extraordinary, there being present the King himself, his brother, two princes of the House of Saxony, the Duke of Ainault, Elector of Hohenloe, with many other persons of eminent condition,—the Duchy of Silecia, Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, the Marquisates of Moravia and Lusatia, with the several provinces of the Kingdom of Bohemia, represented by their deputies, being his sponsors. It was not many weeks after this that he himself was within a very little of being chosen successor to his father,—his eldest brother, Prince Frederique, carrying it from him upon the proposition of the States (as it appears without contradiction) only by two or three voices.

"In October following, after several encounters, with great loss of men on both sides, was fought upon the Weyssenberg (a hill near Prague) that unhappy battle (to this illustrious family) between the Imperialists and the Bohemians, where the former had the victory, and followed the advantage so close, that soon after they made themselves masters of the City of Prague. The Bohemians had posted themselves upon a place of great advantage; beside that the Imperialists had a bog and a bridge to pass, with seven hundred musketeers, and three pieces of ordnance to guard it; but Count Hohenloe (the Bohemians' Lieutenant-General), calling off those musketeers, quitted that pass to the enemy,—the Imperialists presently bringing over their troops, and turning the guns upon the Bohemians themselves. What with this treachery (for so it was

reputed), and the cowardice (or worse) of the Hungarians, that should have seconded the young Prince of Anhalt, and ran away without striking a stroke, the right wing of the army was totally lost. But the left behaved itself very bravely, till it was so overborne with numbers that everybody shifted for hinself as well as he could. In this hurry and consternation, the Baron of Dona, one of his Majesty's Councillors, placed the infant Prince in an empty coach, and there left him, while he provided some other way for his own safety.

"The jolting of the coach tossed the child into the boot, where he had certainly perished if some of the train had not found him there and preserved him, by a special Providence not to be omitted in this relation. Their Majesties found great difficulty in this surprise to save themselves and their Royal branches; but having made their escape, they repaired to the Court of the Elector of Brandenburg, their cousin-german, at Custrein, in that Marquisate, where they were entertained about a twelvemonth with great humanity and honour, until the birth of Prince Maurice, the next brother, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter.

"Soon after the birth of this Prince, the King and Queen, with Prince Frederick and Prince Rupert, removed into Holland, to the Hague,—leaving the second son, Prince Charles Lodowick, the present Elector Palatine, together with the Princess Elizabeth, his eldest sister, and the new-born Prince Maurice, at Berlin; under the care of his generous Electoral Highness, the father of the present Dean of Brandenburgh.

"The two Princes, Frederick and Rupert, continued at the Hague till the birth of the Princess Louisa and Prince Lodowick; and they were then committed to the University of Leyden, there to receive their first instruction.

"The first tutor that our Prince had at Leyden was Dr.

Alting, an eminent and a learned man, who being shortly after admitted a professor at Groyning, one Hauseman succeeded to his charge. His Highness also applying himself to riding, fencing, vaulting, the exercise of the pike and musket, and the study of geometry and fortification; wherein he had the assistance of the best masters; beside the inclination of a military genius, which shewed itself so early, that at eight years of age he handled his arms with the readiness and address of an experienced soldier.

"Having past his time at Leyden till the age of thirteen; partly upon his own desire, and in part upon the instance of Henry Frederic, Prince of Orange, who loved him very dearly, his Highness was permitted by the Queen to follow that brave old General to the siege of Reynberg. By the Queen, I say, for the King was now dead of a pestilent fever at Mentz; having very narrowly escaped drowning before, upon Haerlam-Meere, in his passage to Amsterdam, where Prince Frederic was unfortunately lost by the overturning of his boat, upon two vessels running one athwart the other.

"His Highness had not been many weeks with the Prince of Orange, before the Queen recalled him, upon a suggestion that the army would corrupt and debauch him; and so he returned to the Hague with extreme regret, both to the Prince of Orange and to himself. But upon second thoughts, and the Prince of Orange's repeated intercession, her Majesty was prevailed upon, and his Highness was sent back again to the army to the great satisfaction both of the General and of himself.

"After that campaign was over, he returned to the Hague; and for some time during that recess was sent to Leyden again: but his thoughts were so wholly taken up with the love of arms, that he had no great passion for any other study.

"The next campaign he repaired again to the Prince of Orange, and rode a volunteer in his Highness's Guards,

which were then commanded by Mr. Beringham, a very brave officer, and afterwards Monsieur le Premier, or chief equerry to the present French King. Our Prince being now resolved to pass through the strictest methods of a military order and discipline, delivered up himself to the common duties and circumstances of a private soldier, in all sorts of fatigues and hazards as at the siege of Tirelemont, Lovain, and the first year's siege of Skenken-Siams. After which, the present Prince Elector Palatine crossing over into England, to try what assistance he could obtain from his Royal uncle Charles I., toward the recovery of his lost countries, Prince Rupert soon after followed him, where they continued about a-year. In which time having prevailed for some small aid of money, the Prince Elector departed, and his brother with him, though exceedingly importuned to the contrary. There went over at the same time the Earl of Northampton, the Lord Grandison, with several others of the English nobility and men of quality, who accompanied these Princes to the siege of Breda; the Prince of Orange being then set down before it. General Morgan had the opening of the trenches; and Sir Jacob Astley commanded under him. Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice put themselves upon the *perdu;* and crept up so close to the enemy's works, that they could hear the soldiers discourse on the other side, and made a discovery of their design to issue out, waiting till they were just upon the point of a sally. Whereupon the Princes instantly retired, and gave the besiegers so seasonable notice of it, that they were presently ready for them, and beat them in again with loss.

"The next action our Prince was engaged upon was an attack upon a hornwork, where the late and famous Duke of Albemarle, being Captain-Lieutenant to the Lord Goring, commanded a stand of pikes. This attempt was looked upon to be so dangerous that the Prince of Orange would not, upon any terms, give way, that our

Prince should be exposed upon it. But he slipped himself, nevertheless, as a volunteer into the party, and came off untouched, leaving a great many of his companions behind him.

"There were two mines to be sprung: the French had the right corner of the hornwork and the English the left. The French mine played a little before the English, and without effect; but the English made a very great breach, insomuch that the enemy bent all their force that way; looking upon the other only as a false mine. Sir Jacob Astley took four-and-twenty musketeers, and running all along up the curtain, first upon their flank, and so broke their stand of pikes. There was a cutting off within which the Prince of Orange was not willing to have assaulted, but rather to lodge his men upon the hornwork; but yet the English beat them out of the cutting off also, where they posted themselves and maintained it. There was one Mr. Apsly was shot in the mêlée, Mr. Crofts killed, the Lords Willmot and Goring being hurt before. There was one passage pleasant enough of a Burgundian officer, that lay stripped among the dead upon the hornwork, and starting up a good while after, seeing our Prince with some other officers sitting by upon a hillock, "Messieurs" (says he) "est-il point de quartier ici?" whereupon they gave him the name of Jack Falstaff, which he carried to his dying day.

"The siege being now over, and the town reduced, Prince Maurice and Prince Edward went into an academy in France, Prince Rupert accompanying his brother the Prince Elector to the Hague, who then fell to work upon his intended levies; and by the next spring found himself in condition to march with a considerable body. The rendezvous was appointed at Mepping, in Stift-Munster, upon the river Weyser, where they propounded to fix awhile, and raise more troops; having the Swedes and the neighbourhood thereabouts to friend. This place did

formerly belong to the King of Sweden, who bestowed it upon Colonel Knipheusen (a Swedish officer), as a reward for the eminent services he had done that crown. His Electoral Highness, a little before his return out of England, bought this place of Knipheusen, in prospect of the advantageous condition and situation of it for his purpose. When the Prince had well-nigh finished his levies, the Imperialists made themselves masters of the place by surprise, through the neglect of Horneck, the governor, who had notice of the design time enough to have prevented it. The Prince Elector, notwithstanding this disappointment, by the favour of the good Prince of Orange, went on still with his levies; and by connivance of the States quartered his men about Wesel, having already paid them their money in hand. The greater part of his troops were raised about Hamburgh, Westphalia, and the confines of Germany; consisting of three regiments of horse, under the command of Prince Rupert, Field-marshal Ference and Loe; our Prince being at that time but seventeen years of age. The Lord Craven also commanded a regiment of Guards, and two troops of horse, and there was a troop of Guards whereof Captain Armstrong was Captain-Lieutenant, with a small train of artillery.

"General King (a gentleman of the Scottish nation), commanding at that time in Stift-Munster, under Banyard [Banier], the Swedish General, gave the Prince Elector to understand, that he had orders from the Crown of Sweden to assist his Electoral Highness; and that he would march with him into Germany. He attended the Prince accordingly, through the county of Bentheim, where they joined their forces: and having a curiosity in their passage, to take a view of the town of Rhennins (a garrison belonging to the Emperor), Prince Rupert, the Lord Craven, and Sir Richard Crane (who was afterwards in the Civil Wars of England, Captain of his Highness's Guards) accompanied him. They marched seven or eight

hundred horse; and finding three troops of the garrison ready drawn up before the town, his Electoral Highness sent out three other troops to beat them in; our Prince going on upon the forlorn: and here he made his first charge, which was so exemplary to all about him, that notwithstanding their odds of number they beat them into their garrison, and followed them so close that they wanted very little of entering the town with the enemy. We must not pass over one remarkable providence more upon this adventure; a soldier, with a screwed gun, snapped at the Prince within ten yards of his body, but happily missed fire. After this, his Highness and his company having seen and alarmed the place, returned to the Elector's troops, who continued their march till they came to Lemgo, in Stift-Munster, and then sat down before it, sending out a major for discovery; who, by some prisoners that he took, gained intelligence of the strength and motions of the enemy, and that Count Hatsfield was drawing toward the Wezer with a considerable army, to cut off their passage. Whereupon they were forced to dislodge, propounding to march from thence to Minden, a Swedish garrison in Westphalia. But General King advised the Prince Elector rather to take the way of Flota, then of Rentelen, upon pretence that the Lunenburg troops would interrupt his passage, though there could be no thought of passing that way without falling into the very mouth of Hatsfield. But this advice, however, was followed, to the ruin of the Elector's interest, and the very great misfortune of our Prince: beside the loss of time, for by the next morning, they were not advanced above half-a-mile from the town before they discovered the Count with eight regiments of Cuirassiers, a regiment of Irish Dragoons, commanded by Devereux (he that killed Wallenstein), and eighteen hundred commanded foot. So soon as ever they appeared, General King went before with a party of horse to the top of a hill, and upon view of the ground gave his

judgment of it as a good place to draw up in, having already sent away his baggage before, which received a very ill construction. Field-marshal Ference, with the Prince's troops drew up, and Coningsmark, with the Swedish troops, came thither also; but Coningsmark immediately expressing a dislike of the post they had taken, and giving his opinion of it to the Prince, his Highness told him that he would take his directions, and follow him wherever he pleased (he commanding then as eldest Colonel). Hereupon Coningsmark drew down all the horse into an enclosed piece of ground, and very courteously gave the Prince Elector's horse the van, which was that day to have been his place in course, promising also, which he never performed, that he would do the part of a trusty second. General King being gone away to bring up the foot and cannon. The enemy then came up, and suddenly fell in with their horse upon the Prince Electors, Colonel Loe was the first that received their charge, and was beaten; Ference seconded him, and was beaten also; and the next shock fell upon Prince Rupert's regiment, where his Highness beat the enemy from their ground, and made them quit the enclosure without receiving any assistance from Coningsmark, though Colonel Boy pressed him earnestly to engage.

"The Lord Craven, who commanded two troops of the Electors Guards (the Captains Armstrong and Elder), shifted his station then, and came and posted himself with our Prince: and then the enemy, with Field-marshal Götz, made a fresh attempt, and entered the enclosure at the same passage with the former; but the Prince was here successful also, beat the enemy off with a very great loss, cleared the place once more of all but the slain of the enemy (which was very considerable), and still maintained his ground. The assailants would not give it over thus; but having a great advantage of number they advanced with another regiment, under Colonel Lip; and while he

pressed upon the Prince's front, Major-General Westerholder, at the same time, with eight hundred horse fell upon the rear; which put the Prince Elector's forces to the rout; and our Prince seeing himself deserted would have forced his horse upon a bold leap over the enclosure; but the horse refusing, Colonel Lip seized his bridle, the Prince making him quickly let go his hold, and defending himself with all possible obstinacy and resolution till at last overpowered with numbers, he was made a prisoner, and rendered himself to Lieutenant-Colonel Lip. The Colonel having a curiosity to see his face, struck up his helmet and looking earnestly at him, demanded of him what he was, who answered that he was a Colonel; 'Sacramet!' (says Lip)[1] 'it is a young one.' But there was one Bamback, who was then a soldier of the enemy's party, that knew the Prince, and told Lip that it was the Palsgrave. This was very acceptable news to the victors, and thereupon they delivered him to one Devereux, with whom the Prince immediately treated about his escape, and gave him five pieces in earnest of a further reward. But Hatsfield coming in upon the nick spoiled that design, and the Prince was carried from thence toward Warrendorp under a stricter guard, and under the care of Hatsfield's Lieutenant-Colonel; and with the Prince, the Lord Craven also (wounded in the thigh and hand), and Field-marshal Ference, who were soon afterward released; but the Prince could not get quit upon those terms. There was one accident worth the noting; it happened that both parties had white in their *hats* for the marque; under which mistake the Prince might probably have gotten off, if it had not been for this chance; a soldier of the enemy's had laid hold of one of the Prince Elector's colours, and our Prince shot him dead and redeemed the colours; upon which discovery they fell upon him and gave him two

[1] Sacramet! ein juger obrister.

shots upon his arms, through his cloak, which made them say that he was shot free; wearing a cloak over his arms. The Prince Elector's party was not above two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons, and about fifteen hundred foot.

"In his way to Warrendorp the Prince lay the first night in a little house in the field, with Hatsfield's Lieutenant-Colonel, Lord Craven, and Ference. From thence they carried him to Sansuffle, where a woman would have assisted him in his escape: but there was no opportunity.

"From thence to Warrendorp, where Major-General Veale commanded, who is since made a Count of the Empire; some of his family had formerly served the Crown of England. At Warrendorp the Prince stayed some weeks, till the Lord Craven was tolerably well of his wounds. His Highness had many designs there to make his escape, but none succeeded; however, he was very civilly treated by the governor. He had obtained liberty before his coming to Warrendorp for Sir Richard Crane to go for England; by whom he wrote upon a piece of a table-book (not being allowed pen and ink) to his Majesty of Great Britain, to endeavour his enlargement. The Prince was now committed to the charge of Colonel Carazza (a reformado), who carried him away to Dilingburg (a house of Count Nassau's), under the conduct of Devereux's regiment; where his Highness, understanding that a certain Scot that had been governor of Hainault was then a prisoner, he desired the governor to let him see him, but it was refused. From thence they carried him through the bishoprick of Wirtspruck, and so to Bamburgh, where my Lord Craven and Ference were separated from the Prince and put into Forchaem.

"They carried the Prince to Ratisbon, and from thence to Lintz, where he was put into the castle. Lintz was built by Rodolph the Emperor, a very fine building. His Highness was three years a prisoner there, and two

years and-a-half of the time without any liberty at all; but sometimes to dine with Count Kuffstein, the governor, and sometimes to walk in the garden. This governor was first a Lutheran, and afterwards turned Roman Catholic; and very busy he was to get the Prince to change his religion, or if he would engage against the French, he made proposals to him of great rewards. He was very earnest with him to go to the Jesuits; but his Highness refused, unless he might have the liberty also to go elsewhere: he desired the Prince then to receive their visits; which he would not agree to neither, unless other persons might be allowed to visit him too. In this confinement he diverted himself sometimes with drawing and limning: and here it was that his Highness perfected an instrument for the drawing of anything into perspective, which he was pleased afterward to present to the Royal Society. The ground of it was the invention of Albert Durer, but it was not at all practicable till the Prince put it into a way of use. He accustomed himself to manly and military exercises also, so far as his condition would permit. He was a great lover of the screwed gun; and at last he got leave to ride the great horse, and play at *ballon*.

"During his Highness's imprisonment, Jean de Wert (an Imperial General), and Prince Casimire (son to Sigismundus III., and brother to Vladislaus IV.), were taken prisoners in France, and the Imperial Ministers propounded to Sir Thomas Roe, his Majesty's Ambassador-Extraordinary at Vienna, to exchange them two for Prince Rupert, whose answer was that none but the Archduke Leopold (who was the Emperor's brother) could be a fit exchange for his Majesty's nephew. It happened that the Archduke Leopold being upon a design to beat up the quarters of one Slong, a Swedish officer, who lay in a town a good way remote from the Swedish army, he passed through Lintz, where he desired to see the Prince, and treated him with very great courtesy; and upon his

letter to the Emperor, obtained liberty for the Prince that he might sometimes divert himself at tennis. Whereupon he was allowed upon his parole for three days to go abroad, upon condition of returning still to the prison; and after this he received all the respects imaginable from the gentry of that country; especially from Count Kevenhiller, at his house, at Kamur, in Upper Bavaria. It is a most pleasant place, and the Prince went often thither, where he was very generously entertained, and became acquainted with all the persons of condition thereabouts. Upon the convention of a Diet at Ratisbon, his Imperial Majesty went thither, and Sir Thomas Roe was sent thither also by his Majesty of Great Britain, to solicit his Highness's enlargement, wherein he succeeded so well by the interest and kind assistance of Count Lesley, that he obtained a promise of it, but when it was ready for the seal the Elector of Bavaria's Lady (sister to the Emperor) came and fell upon her knees to his Imperial Majesty, to hinder it; but the Empress kept the Emperor to his word, and the Prince was discharged upon condition that he should not fight against the Emperor, to which condition the King of Great Britain required him to submit. Count Lesley telling the Prince that the Emperor would have it under his hand; whose answer was, that they should do well to look to the wording of it then, for he should think himself no further bound than to the strictness of the letter, whereupon his Highness's word was taken, and upon his parole, giving the Emperor his hand, according to the usage of the country, he was set at liberty. The Emperor returning now to Vienna, Sir Thomas Roe carried the Prince thither, where he was entertained with great joy and esteem. His Imperial Majesty having appointed an extraordinary hunting in the Lower Austrian country, the Prince was at the chase, and meeting with the Emperor, as by chance (though it was looked upon to be so designed by the Emperor), the Prince presented himself

to his Imperial Majesty, and having kissed his hand (which signifies enlargement), he was thereupon finally released. At this hunting it was his Highness's good hap to kill the first boar with a spear, an exploit that is highly accounted of in the empire. It must not be omitted that the Elector of Bavaria would have had the Prince to have been his prisoner; and it was at his instance that his Highness was treated with so much severity; of which his Imperial Majesty was so sensible, that he cautioned the Prince himself not to go through Bavaria, though he went further about, but rather to take the way of Bohemia. After a week he took his leave and got his pass, with a very hearty recommendation to the Archduke Leopold, who was then in Brunswick with an army against the Swedes; the Emperor being in hope that he might have continued with Leopold: but he went to Prague, and so to Hamburgh, where he found the grandfather of the present Danish King lying before Hamburgh, upon the same pretensions as now, and from thence to Bremen, and so to the Hague, where the Queen of Bohemia was at that time, the Prince Elector being with the King in England. Our Prince was always temperate, even among the greatest examples of the contrary. Being in his passage at the Elector of Saxe's, and desiring to be excused from drinking up at the rate of the company: what shall we do for him then (says the Elector) if he cannot drink, and so invited him to the entertainment of a hunting.

"It was in the year 1641-2 that his Highness returned to the Hague: where being informed of the troubles that were like to be in England, and otherwise resolved also to pay his duty and acknowledgments to his Majesty of Great Britain for his goodness toward him in all his misfortunes; he went immediately to Helvoet Sluys, to take the first opportunity for England, and there stayed a matter of three weeks for a fair wind. His Highness landed not far from Margate, and from thence he went to

Dover, where he found the Queen upon her way for Holland; the King himself there also, with the Princess Mary. The Prince made a tender of his humble service to his Majesty, in case there should be any occasion for it; which offer his Majesty received with gracious acknowledgments, but it was not found proper at that time to make any countenance of a war, matters not being as yet come to that height, as to despair of an accommodation: so that the Prince waited upon the Queen into Holland. His Highness embarked at Dover on the Lyon, and arrived the third day at Helvoet Sluys, from thence to the Brill, and so to the Hague, where he continued till he heard that the King was forced from London and gone to York. It must not be omitted, that while his Highness was at Dover, a person of great quality and in much credit with the King, asked his Highness (so as to sound him), what he intended to do. To whom the Prince made answer that he would back again for Holland with the Queen, You are the wiser (says the other), discoursing the matter so suspiciously with the Prince, that his Highness gave the King a necessary caution concerning him. The Prince manifestly perceiving that they had no mind he should stay, and that in all probability they would have clapped him up if he had.

"So soon as ever his Highness was assured that the King found himself engaged upon a war in his own defence, he disposed himself forthwith to attend his Majesty, understanding also from the Queen that the King had written to her from York, his intentions of a commission to his Highness for General of the Horse. His Highness embarked in the Lyon, the same ship that brought over the Queen, one Fox, commander; and while he was aboard, there came a letter to Fox to dissuade him from carrying over the Prince. It was written by a person from whom that illustrious family had deserved better things; but the footman that brought it being casually interrogated about

that letter, most innocently discovered the whole matter. The Prince being aboard with Fox, and one Straughan in his company (who commanded another small King's ship, bound for the Humber), there blew so great a storm that they were driven back again, and forced to run into the Texel, the small ship getting into the Humber and there run ashore, but the men saved, and the guns taken out of the ship for his Majesty's use; the Lord Digby taking his passage also in the same ship with Straughan.

"Being come into the Texel, Fox would needs have the Prince go ashore, promising that so soon as ever the wind served he would meet him again at Goree: whereupon the Prince landed and went to the Hague, and Fox went afterwards to Goree, where he set his Highness's trunks and people ashore, but his Highness heard no more of him after.

"Upon this disappointment, the Prince was now to provide himself of another ship, and obtained one of forty-six guns from the Prince of Orange (commanded by Captain Colster), wherein his Highness embarked with Prince Maurice and divers other persons of quality and honour; taking along with him a galiot with a provision of muskets, arms, and powder. For having heard of the affront put upon the King at Hull, it was looked upon as a seasonable and necessary supply. And the Prince took along with him also an engineer and a fire-worker (De Gomez and La Roche), as fit instruments for his Majesty's service. His Highness being uncertain where to find the King, propounded to land either at Scarborough or Tynmouth; from whence he might the more commodiously come to his Majesty. The first land he made was Flamborough-head, where there was a ship called the London, that immediately made up toward him. The Prince put out the Dunkirk colours upon the galiot, and the Captain demanding what they were doing there; we are cruising (says the other): and asking what the galiot was, it was

answered a Dunkirk prize, whereupon the Captain of the London would needs search her. The Prince was there in a mariner's cap, and Colster by him, who said he would not be searched; whereupon they put out their guns, and the London shot to the leeward to call for aid: so that the Prince was forced to tow away his ship, and put for the northward. This shooting brought out two ships that lay before Tynmouth; so that when the Prince came to the height of Tynmouth (which stood then for the King), they ran directly in and anchored without the bar before the harbour, and without any opposition. From thence they got ashore in boats, the galiot being sent away in the night, and got safe into Scarborough.

"From Tynmouth his Highness took post for Nottingham, in company with Prince Maurice, Somerset Fox, Daniel O'Neal, &c. It was a hard frost, and the Prince's horse stumbling came quite over with him, and pitching him upon his shoulder put it out of joint. This happened within half-a-mile of a bonesetter's house, who by great providence was just then returned home from a journey. He set it in the highway, and in conscience took but one half of what the Prince offered him for his pains; within three hours after he put him in condition of pursuing his journey; and so he went on for Nottingham.

"While the Prince was at Nottingham in bed, Lord Digby, being then governor, came with an order from the King, who was gone to Coventry for two petards out of the arsenal. He knew not what it meant, and so came to the Prince to inquire, and then went down into the arsenal, where they found two great apothecaries' mortars, which Colonel Legge made into a kind of petard; and from thence they were sent to the King: his Highness following after them, and finding his Majesty between Nottingham and Leicester. The King taking the Prince back with him to Nottingham where he set up his Royal standard." [The MS. is here interrupted, and is only

resumed after the Civil War. Where there is any discrepancy between it and my text, it has been altered from scattered notes appended to the Prince's diary.]

D.

Captain Pyne seems to have commanded one of Prince Rupert's ships in his corsairage. This biography of his is very nautical; but furnishes one or two anecdotes of interest, and seems to prove that this writer wrote down memoranda and anecdote that he had heard the Prince or his followers relate: it has no relation with the former or any other MS.

CAPTAIN PYNE'S MANUSCRIPTS.

"An abstract, as near as I can remember, of all such passages and actions as hath happened unto, and been achieved by the illustrious and high-born Prince, &c., from the time of his birth unto the * * * *

"He was born in Prague, the capital city of Bohemia, Anno Domini 1619, about half-a-year after his father had been proclaimed King of that kingdom.

"At six months old he began his travels, that city being then surprised (upon a Sunday, the . . . day of . . . . . ,) by the Emperor's army, under the conduct of . . . . . Here he was like to have been taken prisoner, for the court and city being in a distraction, every one flying for their safety, leaving dinners ready dressed, and his Highness's maid being extremely frightened, running amongst the crowd, let him fall, but with some difficulty he was recovered and thrown into a coach.

"Whither they then went, what happened in their

travels, and how long it was before they came into Holland, I am uncertain.

"Being a child he was well grounded in his religion, which the subtle Jesuits, with whom he hath been much conversant, could never make him stagger in. Also, in the mathematics and languages, but his chief delight was in military discipline, wherein he perfected so much under . . . . . , his tutor for the infantry, and Monsieur . . . . . , his tutor for the cavalry, that at the age of fourteen years he was judged capable of a regiment, which he commanded in Westphalia, at the battle of . . . . . , against the . . . . . , where by the wilfulness of his brother, the Prince Elector, the treachery of General King, who served him little better at Marston Moor, they lost the day, his Highness Prince Rupert, the Lord Craven, and divers others were taken prisoners. My Lord and most of the rest were in a short time ransomed. But his Highness Prince Rupert was sent unto the city of Lintz, lying upon the banks of the Danube, in the land of Trent, where he was kept close prisoner above two years in that castle. The third year he had some enlargement, being now and then permitted to hunt both the stag, roe, wild boar, hare, fox, &c., but always with a good guard; in which time there happened many remarkable passages, one amongst the rest, as it is there curiously reported, was at the hunting of a fox, which took the earth, a dog, which the Prince loved, followed him, but returning not presently, his Highness being impatient of stay crept in after and got hold of his leg, which he could not draw out by reason of the narrowness of the hole, until Mr. Billingsby, who waited always on him, took hold of his Highness's heels, so he drew out the Prince, the Prince the dog, and the dog the fox. The picture of this passage is yet to be seen there, of which there have been divers copies taken and dispersed abroad.

"Another was of the chamois, of whose skins is

made the best chamois leather, he somewhat resembles a goat in shape, but his horns are smaller and turn backward like a great fish-hook. He lives in the mountains amongst the craggy rocks, with which he is so well acquainted, and withal so nimble and swift, that being hunted, he skips from one to another in such a strange manner that no dog is able to fetch him up, about the hunting of whom there passed some remarkable things, which at present I cannot well remember.

"At the end of three years and odd months, the Emperor was pleased to grant him liberty upon his parole, never for the future to bear arms against his Imperial Majesty.

"After which, for the bettering of his understanding, and gaining experience, he spent some years in travelling into several countries,[1] viz. . . . . .

[A break occurs here.]

"And in anno 1642, a little before his Majesty's setting up his standard at Nottingham, he returned the second time into England, with his brother, Prince Maurice, and was presently made General of his Majesty's horse. After which he commanded in chief in several expeditions, and performed divers remarkable services in the behalf of his Majesty, as long as he had any army in the field, viz.

"At Worcester, where he defeated Colonel Sandys and Douglas, both of whom were there slain, with most of their party. There Prince Maurice received a dangerous wound in his head.

"At Edge, 23rd of October, 1642, being Sunday.

"On Monday morning he profferred, if his Majesty would give him leave, to march presently with three thousand horse, &c., to Westminster, and there dissolve the Parliament, which he might easily have done before the Earl of Essex's arrival, but the old Earl of Bristol was the

[1] This must be a mistake of Captain Pynes. The Prince only obtained his release from prison in 1642.

chief man who obstructed that design, which had he been permitted, would, in all probability, have made an end of the war.

"The next morning, with a good party of horse, he fell upon the rear of the rebel's army, where, finding them in some disorder, he did much execution, especially upon their train and carriages.

"On Thursday following he marched with his Majesty to Banbury, which we took in the same day, where we found one regiment of foot and some horse, besides the townsmen.

"Then his Majesty returned for Oxford, his army being quartered round about in the country, to refresh themselves.

"The 12th November, 1642, he defeated the rebels at Brentford, where we took near five hundred prisoners, and destroyed the remainder of two brave regiments, many of whom ran into the Thames and drowned themselves.

"This service preserved his Majesty at that time; for it is probable, if he had not brought a considerable strength to defend himself, they would then have betrayed him, under pretence of giving him a treaty at Syon house.

"For, besides the two regiments which lay at Brentford they had a strong party at Kingston and at Windsor, which had order to fall upon his Majesty and surprise him unawares.

"Sunday, the 13th, having in the morning defeated those forces that came down the river in barges from Kingston, by blowing up their powder, from whom we took thirteen handsome field-pieces of brass, besides a good quantity of provisions, which was a great strengthening unto our train of artillery, yet for want of harness we were forced to sink some of our own iron guns in the Thames. In the afternoon, while his Majesty marched to Oatlands, his Highness Prince Rupert drew up his horse upon Hounslow-heath to make good his Majesty's retreat,

if the Earl of Essex should have adventured to have hindered the same with his new-raised citizens.

"This winter I do not remember any considerable thing that was done.

"At the spring of the year 1643, the Parliament, having raised a great army, commanded the Earl of Essex to besiege Oxford. In order to which, he marched down unto Thame, where he took up his quarters, but before he advanced over Wheatley-bridge his Highness Prince Rupert with three regiments of horse, viz., Prince Charles's, his own, and my Lord Percy's, and a thousand dragoons fell upon their quarters on Saturday night, the . . . day of . . . . . And the next morning the enemy thinking to intercept him upon his retreat, drew up their forces together in Chalgrove field, the place where Hampden first exercised his rebellious regiment, and where he this day received his death-wound; but his Highness, perceiving their drifts, sent part of his dragoons to make good the passage at Wheatley-bridge, and with his horse gave them battle, though they were double his number. Here God was pleased to give him a great victory, which so much disheartened their new-raised forces, that the Earl of Essex durst not advance any further, but returned back to London with shame.

E.

MEMOIR OF SIR JACOB ASTLEY, FIRST BARON ASTLEY, OF READING.

[For this memoir, which I obtained too late for insertion in the proper place, I am indebted to the kindness of Lord Hastings, and of the Rev. Charles Elwin, his lordship's chaplain, by whom it was drawn up.]

Sir Jacob Astley, knight, was the second son of Isaac Astley, of Hill Morton, in the county of Warwick, and of

Melton Constable, in the county of Norfolk, Esq., by Mary, daughter of Sir Edward Walgrave, of Boreham, in the county of Essex, knight, and was born at Melton Constable, March, 1579.

At the age of nineteen, he joined the troops sent out by Queen Elizabeth, under the command of Sir Francis Vere, to assist the States of Holland against the power of the Spanish monarchy, where his valour at the celebrated battle of Newport, 1599, and the subsequent siege of Ostend, raised him so high in the estimation of Maurice, Prince of Orange, that he immediately put him in commission, and in the progress of the war, advanced him to the highest rank in his profession. In 1621, he associated himself with the honourable band of English nobility and gentry, who, under the command of Sir Horatio Vere, tendered their services to Frederic, Elector Palatine, the son-in-law of James I., King of England, to assert his right to the kingdom of Bohemia, to which he had been elected; and in 1631 he accepted a commission under James, Marquis of Hamilton, who, by the permission of Charles I., had raised six hundred men, and joined the league under the renowned Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, in defence of the Protestant liberties of Germany.

Having thus rendered himself and his country illustrious among the first military characters of the age, he was called home in 1641, to a command in the expedition against Scotland, and upon the pacification between that nation and England, he was promoted to the government of Plymouth, as an honourable retreat in his declining age. The Civil War which broke out in 1642, called him again into active service, and he was further advanced to be governor of the Royal garrisons of Reading and Oxford, and appointed Serjeant-Major-General of his Majesty's forces, having eminently contributed to the success of the Royalists, at Edgehill, Newbury, Lestwithiel, and on various other occasions. In recompense for such distin-

guished services, and in consideration of his noble descent from Thomas Baron de Astley, who was slain at the battle of Evesham, under Henry III., the King was pleased to confer upon him and his male heirs, by letters patent, bearing date November 4th, 1644, the title of Baron Astley, of Reading, in the county of Berks. After the fatal battle of Naseby, where he led the main body of the foot, he was Lieutenant-General of all his Majesty's forces in the West, and of the marches of Wales, at the request of the Welch gentry. Having assembled at Worcester a small body of two thousand men, he attempted to join the King at Oxford, but his letters miscarried, and Sir William Brereton and Colonel Morgan, having collected a considerable force from the neighbouring garrisons, intercepted him near Stow-on-the-Wold, where, after a stout resistance, his men being fatigued by forced marches, and overpowered by numbers, Lord Astley and Sir Charles Lucas, and all his followers who had not fallen in the engagement surrendered themselves, March 21st, 1646. In the despatch of Colonel Morgan to the Parliament, he says, he ordered a drum to be brought out that Lord Astley might rest himself upon it, who, being sensible that this defeat was a fatal blow to the Royal cause, observed, "Now, gentlemen, your work is done, you may go play, if you fall not out among yourselves." He was conveyed prisoner to Warwick Castle, where he remained till June, when upon the surrender of the garrison of Oxford to Lord Fairfax, his release was included in the terms of the capitulation. He retired to the house of his nephew and son-in-law, Sir Edward Astley, knight, where he resided till 1649, when he removed to Maidstone, in Kent, to the estate bequeathed to him by his kinsman, Sir John Astley, and died at his house at that town called the Palace, after a short illness, March, 1651, aged 72 years, and was buried in the church at Maidstone.

"Sir Jacob Astley was an honest brave plain man, and

as fit for the office he exercised, of Major-General of the foot, as Christendom yielded, and was so generally esteemed; very discerning and prompt in giving orders, as occasions required, and most cheerful and present in any action; in council he used few, but very pertinent words, and was not at all pleased with the long speeches usually made there, and which rather confounded than informed his understanding, so that he rather collected the ends of the debates, and what he was himself to do, than enlarged them by his own discourses, though he forbore not to deliver his own mind.[1]

"Sir Jacob Astley, Major-General of the army, under the Earl of Lindsey, who, before the charge at the battle of Edgehill, made a most pious, excellent, short, and soldierly prayer, for he lifted up his eyes and hands to Heaven, saying, 'Oh! Lord, thou knowest how busy I must be this day; if I forget thee, do not thou forget me;' and with that rose up, crying out, 'march on boys!'"[2]

To these testimonials may be added, the respect and esteem of Maurice, Prince of Orange, the ablest officer and best patriot of his age, and the letters of his own Sovereign, King Charles I., and his sister Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia, expressing the great confidence they justly placed in his military experience and his zeal and fidelity in their service; that he was not deficient in the milder virtues of civil life may be collected from the general goodwill he acquired at home and abroad, and particularly from a letter written to him by command of the King immediately after his defeat, in which, after expressing his conviction that it was not to be attributed to any want of zeal or conduct, and with the deepest sense of the loss his cause had sustained by his capture; "his

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 373.
[2] Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 229.

Majesty hopes that your lordship, being a person of so much honour in yourself, and having been upon all occasions of good service, so solicitous to use your prisoners with much civility, that those in whose power you now are, especially the Commander-in-Chief, will take care that you shall be treated as a person of honour," &c.; his private letters afford abundant proof of his generosity, prudence, and affection, in all his domestic relations, and the deep affliction of his numerous family at his death is honourable both to his memory and their own.

Lord Astley married Agnes Imple, a German lady, of noble family, by whom he left Isaac Astley, who succeeded him as Lord Astley; Sir Bernard Astley, who was taken prisoner at the siege of Bristol, and carried to Bath, where he died of his wounds, September 16th, 1645; Thomas Henry, and Edward, who all died unmarried in the life-time of their father; and an only daughter, Elizabeth, married to Sir Edward Astley, knight, her cousin, son of his eldest brother, Thomas Astley, of Melton Constable, in Norfolk.

Isaac, second Lord Astley, succeeded his father, 1651: he married Anne, daughter of Sir Francis Stydolf, of Norbury, in Surrey, knight, and died 1662, leaving an only son.

Jacob, third Lord Astley, who married his cousin Frances, daughter of Sir Richard Stydolf, knight, and died 1688, leaving no issue, the title of Baron Astley of Reading became extinct, and his estate descended to Sir Jacob Astley, of Melton Constable, baronet, the son of Elizabeth, the only daughter of the first Lord Astley, from whom Sir Jacob Astley, of Melton Constable, baronet, and Baron Hastings, are lineally descended.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF WRITERS.

Ashburnham
Astley or Ashley, Sir Jacob
Aston, Sir Arthur

Bagot, Colonel Richard
Belayse, or Bellasis, Sir John
Bell, Thomas
Bellenden, Sir William
Bellow, Colonel John
Berkeley, Sir John
Berkshire, Earl of
Blagge, Colonel Thomas
Blaxton, Colonel William
Blount, Captain
Botteler, Henry
Boys, Sir John
Bradshaw, William
Brentford, Earl of
Bristol, Earl of
Broughton, Robert
Buckingham, Duke of
Burgess, Robert
Bynissy, Johnson
Byron, Lord
Byron, Sir Nicholas
Byron, Sir Richard
Byron, Sir Thomas

Capel, Lord
Carnarvon, Earl of
Cashill, Thomas
Cave, Charles
Cave, Richard
Cavendish, Charles
Charles, Kings, I. and II.
Cobbe, F.
Cochrane, John
Conyngsby, W.
Corbett, J.
Crafurd, Earl of
Craven, Earl of
Croft, E.
Culpepper, Sir John

Darell, Matthew
D'Aubigny, Kate, Lady
Davenant, Sir William
Derby, Countess of
Derby, Earl of
Digby, Lord
Dingley, T.
Dongan, William
Dunsmore, Lord
Dyves, Sir Lewis

Edwards, Thomas
Elyott, Thomas
Erm, George
Ernly, Sir Nicholas
Essex, Earl of

Fairfax, Sir Thomas
Falkland, Lord
Fane, Sir Francis
Fiennes, Col. Nat.
Fines, John
Forth, Earl of (Brentford)
Frahock, Henry
Fyton, Robert

Gage, Henry
Gerrard, Sir Gilbert
Glenham, Sir Thomas
Goring, George, Lord
Grandison, Lord
Grant, W.
Grenville, John

Hamilton, Duke of
Hastings, H. (Lord Loughborough)
Hawley, Sir Francis, and Lord
Heath, H.
Herbert, Lord (Glamorgan)
Herbert, Lord (of Cherbourg)
Hertford, Marquis
Hines, John
Hoghton, Gilbert
Hopton, Lord
Hullby, Mar.
Hutchinson, Colonel John
Hyde, Sir E. (Clarendon)

Jauffe, —.
Jermyn, Lord

Killigrew, Sir Wm.
Kirke, Sir Louis

Langdale, Sir Marmaduke (Lord)
Legge, Colonel William
Leveson, Colonel
Leweson, John
Lisle, Sir George
Lloyd, Walter and Charles
Loughborough, Lord (Hastings)
Lunsford, H. and Sir Thomas
Lydisdale, —.

Manly, Roger
Massey, E.
Maurice, Prince
Maxwell, G.
Mayne, John
Mennes, Sir John
Mennes, John
Molesworth, Guy
Moody, George
Morgan, Louis
Morton, William
Mynne

Neille, D.
Newcastle, Marquis of
Newport, Lord
Nicholas, Secretary Edw.
Northampton, Earl of

Ormond, Marquis of
Osborne, Henry
Ottley, Sir Francis

Porter, Major-General George
Power, John
Preston, Richard
Pryce, Thomas and Herbert
Pym, John, M.P.

Ridgway, W.
Robinson, J.
Rupert, Prince
Russell, John
Russell, Sir William

Sackville, Sir Thomas
Sheddercourt, Michael
Sloughter, —
Smith, Christopher
Sudford, —.

Tracy, Robert
Trevor, Arthur

Vavasour, Sir William

Wentworth, Lord Thomas
Whyte, A.
Widdrington, William
Willoughby, Philip
Wilmot, Lord H.
Winchester, —.
Wintour, Sir Henry
Woodhouse, Michael
Worcester, Marquis of

This list comprises only the writers in Prince Rupert's own Correspondence, as preserved in the Bennett Family: those that are not introduced in the accompanying volumes, are still in Mr. Bentley's possession. There are upwards of one hundred Letters besides, for which I am personally indebted to the descendants of the Cavaliers.

N.B.—The dates are given in the following Catalogue according to the old Chronology, by which the year commenced on the 25th of March.

CHRONOLOGICAL CATALOGUE

OF

Letters in Prince Rupert's Correspondence.

1642.

April	6	written by	Neille.
June	11	,,	Aston, dated from Bristol.
September	22	,,	The King, dated from Bridgenorth, or Bewdley.
October	7	,,	Newcastle.
October	9	,,	The King.
October	16	,,	Nicholas, or Newcastle.
October	21	,,	Graunt, dated from Pendennis.
October	23	,,	The King.
November	27	,,	The King, dated from Reading.
December	1	,,	Wilmot, dated from Abingdon.
December	2	,,	Wilmot, dated from Wantage.
December	2	,,	Winchester, dated from Basingstoke.
December	10	,,	Byron, dated from Reading.
December	13	,,	Northampton, dated from Banbury.
December	14	,,	Blaxton, dated from Brill.
December	20	,,	Northampton, dated from Banbury.
December	22	,,	Northampton, dated from Dedington.
December	26	,,	Northampton, dated from Banbury.
December	28	,,	Northampton, dated from Banbury.
	No date,		Carnarvon.
	No date,		Cavendish.
	No date,		Digby, dated from Wantage.
December	31	,,	Digby.

1643.

January	2	written by	The King, dated from Oxford.
January	4	,,	Northampton, dated from Banbury.
February	1	,,	The King, dated from Oxford.
February	28	,,	The King.
March	8	,,	The King, dated from Oxford.
March	2	,,	Northampton, dated from Banbury.
March	6	,,	Burgess, dated from Malmesbury.
March	7	,,	Northampton, dated from Ragland.
March	19	,,	Forth, dated from Brill.
March	22	,,	Fines, dated from Cirencester.
March	24	,,	Fines, dated from Cirencester.
December	31	,,	Dives, dated from Bristol.
March	26	,,	Capel, dated from Bridgenorth.
March	26	,,	Wilmot, dated from Oxford.
March	26	,,	Herbert, dated from Malmesbury.
March	27	,,	Essex, dated from Lewisham.
March	27	,,	Northampton, dated from Banbury.
March	27	,,	Wilmot, dated from Oxford.
March	30	,,	Mennes, dated from Ellesmere.
April	1	,,	Countess of Derby, dated from Lathom.

Two letters of same date,
April 4 written by Capel, dated from Shrewsbury.
April 4 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
April 5 ,, N. Byron, dated from Chester.
Another of same date, Dated from Ellesmere.
April (?) 5 ,, Capel, dated from Shrewsbury.
April 5 ,, Capel, dated from Shrewsbury.
April 6 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
April 9 ,, Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
April 10 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
April 11 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
April 12 ,, Cavendish, dated from Grantham.
April 13 ,, Capel, dated from Whitchurch.
April 14 ,, Capel, dated from Whitchurch.
April 14 ,, Ridgway, dated from London.
April 15 ,, The King, dated from Oxford.
April 16 ,, The King, dated from Oxford.
Two of same date.
April 18 ,, Goring, dated from York.
April 20 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
April 21 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
April 22 ,, Goring, dated from York.
Three letters of this date.
April 23 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
April 24 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
April 25 ,, Hines, dated from Farringdon.
April 26 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
April 28 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
Palm Sunday ,, Digby, dated from Oxford.
April None ,, Trevor, dated from Oxford.
May 2 ,, Northampton, dated from Banbury.
Two letters of this date.
May 5 ,, Crafurd, dated from Farringdon.
May 7 ,, Crafurd, dated from Farringdon.
May 7 ,, Willoughby, dated from Oxford.
May 8 ,, Northampton, dated from Banbury.
May 11 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
May 11 ,, Wilmot, dated from Oxford.
May 12 ,, Blagge, dated from Wallingford.
May 12 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
May 15 ,, Smith, dated from Churington.
May 15 ,, Wentworth, dated from Buckingham.
May 16 ,, Wentworth, dated from Buckingham.
May 17 ,, Belasis, dated from York.
May 19 ,, Crafurd, dated from Farringdon.
May 26 ,, Crafurd, dated from Farringdon
May 29 ,, Hastings, dated from Ashby.
May 30 ,, Mennes, dated from Ellesmere.
June 1 ,, Blagge, dated from Wallingford.
June 4 ,, Wilmot, dated from Bletchington.
June 6 ,, Wilmot, dated from Bletchington.
June 6 ,, Dives, dated from Abingdon.
June 8 ,, Wilmot, dated from Bletchington.
June 12 ,, Wilmot, dated from Bletchington.
June 14 ,, Crafurd, dated from Farringdon.
June 14 ,, Dingley, dated from the Hague.
June 15 ,, Dives, dated from Abingdon.
June 21 ,, Berkshire, dated from Emeline Lodge.

June	21	written by	Essex, dated from Tame.
June	23	"	Aston, dated from Bletchington.
June	23	"	Dives, dated from Abingdon.
June	24	"	Aston, dated from Bletchington.
June	25	"	Aston, dated from Bletchington.
July	1	"	Ashburnham, dated from Oxford.
July	4	"	T. Biron, dated from Brackley.
July	7	"	The King, dated from Oxford.
July	8	"	(2) Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
July	10	"	Falkland, dated from Ashby.
July	11	"	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
July	12	"	The King, dated from Oxford.
July	12	"	Capel, dated from Shropshire.
July	20	"	The King, dated from Oxford.
July	20	"	Prince Maurice.
July	20	"	Tracy, dated from Teddington.
July	21	"	Berkeley, dated from Topsham.
July	21	"	Herbert, dated from Worcester.
July	21	"	Hertford, dated from Farnham.
July	22	"	Falkland, dated from Oxford.
July	23	"	The King, dated from Oxford.
July	25	"	Herbert, dated from Ragland.
July	25	"	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
July	26	"	Vavasour, dated from Hereford.
July	27	"	T. Byron, dated from Brackley.
July	29	"	Herbert, dated from Ragland.
July	30	"	Vavasour, dated from Hereford.
July	31	"	The King dated from Oxford.
July	31	"	Sloughter, dated from Worcester.
August	3	"	Moreton, dated from Winchcombe.
August	3	"	Wilmot, dated from Bletchington.
August	4	"	Aston, dated from Wotton-under-Edge.
August	4	"	Vavasour, dated from Monmouth.
August	6	"	Vavasour, dated from Brompton.
August	7	"	Aston, dated from Painswick, near Gloucester.
August	7	"	Newcastle, dated from Lincoln.
August	8	"	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
August	13	"	Fiennes, dated from London.
August	15	"	Hertford, dated from Bristol.
August	21	"	Hertford, dated from Bristol.
August	22	"	Hastings, dated from Lichfield.
August	29	"	Newcastle, dated from Beverley.
August	31	"	Countess of Derby, dated from Lathom.
September	1	"	Hopton, dated from Bristol.
September	5	"	Charles Rex (2 letters), dated from Matson near Gloucester.
September	6	"	Hopton, dated from Bristol.
September	7	"	Hopton, dated from Bristol.
September	7	"	Hastings, dated from Tutbury Castle.
September	8	"	Maxwell, dated from Berkeley Castle.
September	10	"	Bell, dated from London.
September	17	"	Ashburnham, dated from North Leach.
September	17	"	Digby, dated from Alnescott.
September	18	"	Newcastle, dated from Cottingham.
September	22	"	Charles Rex, dated from Newbury.
September	24	"	Widdrington, dated from Gainsborough.
September	29	"	Hyde, none.
October	2	"	Herbert, dated from Worcester.

October	3	written by	Hopton, dated from Sudbury.
October	3	,,	Newcastle, dated from Cottingham.
October	10	,,	Moody, dated from Berry.
October	15	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxon.
October	16	,,	Jauffe, dated from Dublin.
October	17	,,	Cane, dated from Milton.
October	24	,,	Londesdale, dated from Banbury.
October	25	,,	Hopton, dated from Bristol.
October	27	,,	Astley, dated from Reading.
October	27	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxon.
October	28	,,	Astley, dated from Reading.
October	28	,,	Dives (2), dated from Stoney Stratford.
October	28	,,	Hastings, dated from Ashby.
October	28	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxon.
October	29	,,	Wilmot, dated from Blackthorn Windmill.
October	30	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxon.
October	30	,,	Wilmot, dated from Buckingham.
October	31	,,	Wilmot, dated from Buckingham.
October	31	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxon.
November	1	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxon.
November	2	,,	Wentworth, dated from Braday.
November	3	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxon.
November	4	,,	Cane, dated from Dartmouth.
November	4	,,	Byron, dated from Brackley.
November	5	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxon.
November	6	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxon.
November	7	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxon.
November	7	,,	Byron, dated from Brackley.
November	8	,,	Hopton, dated from Winchester.
November	9	,,	Byron, dated from Brackley.
November	11	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Oxon.
November	12	,,	Aston, dated from Reading.
November	12	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxon.
November	13	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Oxon.
November	16	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxon.
November	20	,,	Gerrard, dated from Bristol.
November	21	,,	Aston, dated from Easton.
November	22	,,	Aston, dated from Easton.
November	27	,,	Aston, dated from Easton.
November	28	,,	Aston, dated from Easton.
November	28	,,	Dives, dated from Balesbury.
November	29	,,	Loughborough, none.
November	30	,,	Tudford, Bristol Castle.
November	none	,,	Wilmot, dated from Brackley.
December	1	,,	Wilmot, dated from Woodstock.
December	3	,,	Gerrard, dated from Worcester.
December	4	,,	Vavasour, dated from Bristol.
December	6	,,	Aston, dated from Easton.
December	9	,,	Vavasour, dated from Bristol.
December	10	,,	Newcastle, dated from Chesterfield.
December	12	,,	N. Byron, dated from Chester.
December	12	,,	Hopton, dated from Alresford.
December	13	,,	Gerrard, dated from Frome.
December	14	,,	Hawley, dated from Bristol.
December	16	,,	Cocheran, dated from Towcester.
December	17	,,	Culpepper, dated from Bristol.
December	19	,,	Northampton, dated from Banbury.
December	19	,,	Neille, dated from Abingdon.

December 20 written by Porter, dated from York.
December 21 ,, Astley, dated from Reading.
December 21 ,, Gerrard, dated from Worcester.
December 22 ,, Russell, dated from Bristol.
December 23 ,, Northampton, dated from Banbury.
December 24 ,, Wilmot, dated from Winchester.
December 25 ,, Neille, dated from Abingdon.
December 27 ,, Aston, dated from Easton.
December 30 ,, Cocheran, dated from Towcester.

1643-4.

January 1 written by Cocheran (2 of this date) from Towcester.
January 1 ,, Hamilton, dated from Pershore.
January 1 ,, Wilmot, dated from Stanford.
January 2 ,, Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
January None ,, N. Byron, dated from Shrewsbury.
January 4 ,, Northampton, dated from Banbury.
January 6 ,, Sackville, dated from Bibury.
January 6 ,, Vavasour, dated from Tewkesbury.
January 7 ,, Vavasour, dated from Tewkesbury.
January 7 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
January 11 ,, Astley, dated from Reading.
January 12 ,, Hines, dated from Shortill.
January 13 ,, Astley, dated from Reading.
January 14 ,, Astley, dated from Reading.
January 14 ,, Byron, dated from Wisterton.
January 15 or 11 Heath.
January 17 ,, Darell, dated from Cirencester.
January 17 ,, Hastings, dated from Ashby.
January 21 ,, Dives, dated from Abingdon.
January 21 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
January 25 ,, Ashburnham, dated from Oxford. (3 same day.)
January 26 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
January 28 ,, Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
January 29 ,, Gerrard, dated from Worcester.
January 30 ,, Boys, dated from Donnington.
January 31 ,, Ottley, dated from Shrewsbury.
January 31 ,, Vavasour, dated from Tewkesbury.
February 1 ,, Russell, dated from Worcester.
February 1(?) ,, Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
February 2 ,, O'Neille, dated from Shrewsbury.
February 2 ,, Mennes, dated from Salop.
February 2 ,, Newport, dated from Shrewsbury.
February 3 ,, Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
February 3 ,, T. Biron, dated from Banbury.
February 4 ,, Newcastle, dated from Newcastle.
February 5 ,, Hamilton, dated from Worcester.
February 6 ,, Hamilton, dated from Worcester.
February 6 ,, Vavasour, dated from Worcester.
February 8 ,, Leveson, dated from Dudley Castle.
February 8 ,, Tracy.
February 9 ,, Woodhouse, dated from Shrewsbury.
February 9 ,, Mennes, dated from Salop.
February 9 ,, Hastings, dated from Ashby.
February 10 ,, Bradshugh, dated from Bradford.
February 10 ,, R. Byron, dated from Newark.

February	10	written by	Mennes, dated from Salop.
February	11	,,	Massey, dated from Gloucester.
February	11	,,	Byron, dated from Chester.
February	11	,,	Gerrard, dated from Brill.
February	11	,,	Jermyn, dated from Oxford.
February	12	,,	Digby, dated from Oxford.
February	12	,,	Fane, dated from Doncaster.
February	12	,,	O'Neille, dated from Shrewsbury.
February	13	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Oxon.
February	13	,,	Digby, dated from Oxford.
February	13	,,	Edmonds, dated from Shrewsbury.
February	13	,,	(2) Newcastle, dated from Newcastle.
February	13	,,	O'Neille, dated from Bristol.
February	14	,,	Belasis.
February	15	,,	Jermyn, dated from Oxford.
February	16	,,	(2) Newcastle, dated from Newcastle.
February	16	,,	(2) Trevor, dated from Oxford.
February	17	,,	Vavasour, dated from Nement.
February	18	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
February	18	,,	Sheddencourt, dated from Bristol.
February	19	,,	Aston, dated from Reading.
February	19	,,	Essex, dated from Essex House.
February	19	,,	Trevor, dated from Oxford.
February	19	,,	Forth, dated from Brill.
February	20	,,	Byron, dated from Chester.
February	20	,,	O'Neille, dated from Ragland.
February	21	,,	(2) Byron, dated from Chester.
February	21	,,	Dives, dated from Abingdon.
February	22	,,	Broughton, dated from Ruthin.
February	22	,,	Gerrard, dated from Worcester.
February	22	,,	(2) Trevor, dated from Oxford.
February	22	,,	Wilmot, dated from Oxford.
February	22	,,	Jermyn, dated from Oxford.
February	23	,,	Jermyn, dated from Oxford.
February	23	,,	Trevor, dated from Oxford.
February	24	,,	Conyngsby, dated from Hereford.
February	24	,,	Fairfax, dated from Manchester.
February	24	,,	Trevor, dated from Oxford.
February	26	,,	Jermyn, dated from Oxford.
February	26	,,	Digby, dated from Oxford.
February	27	,,	Herbert, dated from Montgomery.
February	28	,,	Aston, dated from Reading.
February	28	,,	Fyton, Wem.
February	28	,,	Gerrard, dated from Worcester.
February	28	,,	Herbert, dated from Montgomery.
February	28	,,	Northampton.
February	28	,,	Wintour, dated from Chepstow.
March	1	,,	Aston, dated from Reading.
March	2	,,	Byron.
March	2	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
March	2	,,	Northampton, dated from Banbury.
March	2	,,	Newport, dated from Shrewsbury.
March	None	,,	(2) Trevor.
March	2	,,	Woodhouse, dated from Hopton.
March	4	,,	Frohocke, dated from Oxon.
March	5	,,	Trevor.
March	7	,,	Northampton, dated from Ragland.
March	7	,,	Northampton, dated from Ragland.

March	7	written by	Derby, dated from Chester.
March	8	„	Derby, dated from Chester.
March	9	„	Loughborough, dated from Ashby.
March	11	„	Gerrard, dated from Worcester.
March	12	„	Newport, dated from Shrewsbury.
March	13	„	Hynes, dated from Banbury.
March	14	„	Pym, dated from Westminster.
March	15	„	Lunsford, dated from Malmesbury.
March	15	„	Jermyn, dated from Oxford.
March	16	„	Jermyn, dated from Oxford.
March	17	„	Herbert, dated from Montgomery.
March	19	„	Culpepper, dated from Aylesbury.
March	22	„	Derby, dated from Preston.
March	22	„	Blagge, dated from Wallingford.
March	23	„	Derby, dated from Derby.
March	24	„	(2) Hynes, dated from Banbury.
March	24	„	Jermyn, dated from Oxford.
March	24	„	Trevor.

1643.

[*Letters of this year, dates incomplete:*—

March	None	written by	Astley, dated from Reading.
March	None	„	Bellow, dated from the North.
March	Monday	„	Blagge.
March	Monday	„	Blagge.
March	at night	„	Blagge.
March	None	„	Blagge.
Sept.	None	„	Bristol.
Sept.	None	„	Byron.
Sept.	None	„	K. d'Aubigny.
Sept.	Monday	„	Hastings.
Sept.	Saturday	„	Hastings.
Sept.	Sunday	„	Hastings, dated from Tamworth.
Sept.	Sunday	„	Jermyn, dated from Exeter.
Sept.	Sunday	„	Loughborough, dated from Belvoir.
Sept.	Sunday	„	Loughborough, dated from perhaps Belvoir.
Sept.	Sunday	„	Mennes.]

1644.

March	25	written by	Charles Rex, dated from Oxon.
March	25	„	Digby, dated from Oxon.
March	25	„	Kirke, dated from Bridgenorth.
March	25	„	Newcastle, dated from Durham.
March	26	„	Belasis, dated from York.
March	26	„	Cashill, dated from Galway.
March	26	„	Kirke, dated from Bridgenorth.
March	26	„	Hutchinson, dated from Nottingham.
March	26	„	Jermyn, dated from Oxford.
March	27	„	Belasis, dated from Yorke.
March	27	„	Jermyn, dated from Oxford.
March	27	„	Vavasour, dated from Painswick.
March	28	„	Cobbe, dated from Newark.
March	29	„	Belasis, dated from York.
March	29	„	Newcastle, dated from Durham.
March	30	„	Bellenden, dated from Salop.

March	30	written by	Newcastle, dated from Durham.
March	30	„	Porter, dated from Lincoln.
March	28	„	Porter, dated from Newark.
March	28	„	Ormond, dated from Dublin.
April	1	„	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
April	1	„	Porter, dated from Lincoln.
April	1	„	Vavasour, dated from Oxford.
April	2	„	Herbert, dated from Oxford.
April	2	„	Killigrew, dated from Oxford.
April	2	„	Lloyd, dated from Insmaengwynce.
April	2	„	Wilmot, dated from Oxford.
April	3	„	Digby, dated from Oxford.
April	4	„	Byron, dated from Chester.
April	4	„	Digby, dated from Oxford.
April	4	„	Dunsmore, dated from Oxford.
April	6	„	Buckingham, dated from Oxford.
April	6	„	(2) Digby, dated from Oxford.
April	6	„	Fane, dated from Lincoln.
April	6	„	Vavasour, dated from Oxford.
April	6	„	Woodhouse, dated from Cranton.
April	7	„	Bagot, dated from Lichfield.
April	7	„	(2) Byron, dated from Chester.
April	8	„	Byron, dated from Chester.
April	8	„	Byron, dated from Abingdon.
April	9	„	Byron, dated from Chester.
April	9	„	Kirke, dated from Bridgenorth.
April	10	„	Loughborough, dated from Tutbury.
April	10	„	Dunsmore, dated from Oxford.
April	11	„	Blaxton, dated from Monmouthshire.
April	11	„	Trevor, dated from Oxford.
April	12	„	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
April	12	„	Gerrard, dated from Worcester.
April	12	„	Prise, dated from Brecon.
April	12	„	Woodhouse, dated from Cranton.
April	13	„	R. Biron, dated from Newark.
April	13	„	Jermyn, dated from Oxford.
April	13	„	Loughborough, dated from Tutbury.
April	13	„	Prise, dated from Brecon.
April	13	„	Redmayne, dated from Pontefract.
April	13	„	Vavasour, dated from Hereford.
April	14	„	Woodhouse, dated from Cranton.
April	16	„	Loughborough, dated from Lichfield.
April	17	„	(2) Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
April	17	„	Woodhouse, dated from Cranton.
April	18	„	Kirke, dated from Bridgenorth.
April	18	„	Newcastle, dated from York.
April	18	„	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
April	19	„	Vavasour, dated from Hereford.
April	19	„	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
April	20	„	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
April	20	„	Jermyn, dated from Oxford.
April	21	„	Jermyn, dated from Oxford.
April	21	„	Gerrard, dated from Oxford.
April	22	„	Gerrard, dated from Worcester.
April	22	„	Bagot, dated from Lichfield.
April	23	„	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
April	26	„	Goring, dated from Newark.
April	28	„	Fillice, dated from Shiffnall.

April	28	written by	Trevor, dated from Oxford.
May	1	„	Gerrard, dated from Worcester.
May	5	„	Byron, dated from Chester.
May	5	„	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
May	6	„	Haltby, dated from Oxford.
May	7	„	Gerrard, dated from Worcester.
May	7	„	Elyot, dated from Oxon.
May	7	„	Price, dated from Brecon.
May	8	„	N. Byron, dated from Newark.
May	8	„	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
May	9	„	Maurice, dated from Lyme.
May	10	„	Goring, dated from Brookesby.
May	11	„	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
May	11	„	Digby, dated from Oxford.
May	12	„	Newcastle, dated from Oxford.
May	12	„	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
May	19	„	Gerrard, dated from Worcester.
May	21	„	Elyot, dated from Oxford.
May	26	„	Richmond, dated from Oxford.
June	4	„	Glenham, dated from York.
June	7	„	Charles Rex, dated from Worcester.
June	8	„	Digby, dated from Worcester.
June	11	„	Goring.
June	12	„	Digby, dated from Worcester.
June	13	„	Davenant, dated from Haleford.
June	14	„	Digby, dated from Bewdley.
June	14	„	Richmond, dated from Bewdley.
June	17	„	Digby, dated from Bradbury Down.
June	19	„	Goring.
June	22	„	Charles Rex, dated from Buckingham.
June	None	„	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
June	25	„	Goring, dated from Skipton.
July	None	„	Charles Rex, dated from Evesham.
July	12	„	Digby, dated from Evesham.
July	17	„	Digby, dated from Bath.
July	17	„	Charles Rex, dated from Bath.
July	21	„	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
July	27	„	Digby, dated from Exeter.
August	1	„	Croft, dated from Knaresborough.
August	9	„	Goring.
August	10	„	Byron, dated from Liverpool.
August	11	„	Prise, dated from Usk.
August	13	„	Cave, dated from Boconnock.
August	15	„	Bynissy, dated from Salop.
August	15	„	Digby, dated from Boconnock.
August	15	„	Goring, dated from Boconnock.
August	15	„	Richmond, dated from Boconnock.
August	19	„	Gerrard, dated from Worcester.
August	21	„	Kirke, dated from Bridgenorth.
August	21	„	Langdale, dated from Chester.
August	22	„	Legge, dated from Chester.
August	23	„	Byron, dated from Liverpool.
August	23	„	Corbett, dated from Moreton.
August	23	„	Herbert, dated from Montgomery.
August	24	„	Astley, dated from Oxford.
August	27	„	Ernly, dated from Shrewsbury.
August	29	„	Byron, dated from Liverpool.
August	30	„	Digby, dated from Boconnock.

August	30	written by	Charles Rex, dated from Boconnock.
September	4	,,	Berkeley, dated from Exeter.
September	4	,,	Digby, dated from Boconnock.
September	4	,,	Dyne, dated from Boconnock.
September	5	,,	Woodhouse, dated from Ludlow.
September	5	,,	Goring, dated from Oakhampton.
September	5	,,	Herbert, dated from Ludlow.
September	6	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Tavistock.
September	7	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Montgomery.
September	7	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
September	7	,,	Wyndham, dated from Bridgenorth.
September	9	,,	Cave, dated from Plymouth.
September	10	,,	Gerrard, dated from Worcester.
September	16	,,	Brainsford, dated from Exeter.
September	16	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Oakhampton.
September	19	,,	Ernly, dated from Shrewsbury.
September	19	,,	Tuke, dated from Ushet.
September	20	,,	Tuke, dated from St. Rané.
September	22	,,	Haltby, dated from Monmouth.
September	22	,,	Tuke, dated from St. Rané.
September	23	,,	Blaxton, dated from Monmouthshire.
September	23	,,	Digby, dated from Exeter.
September	24	,,	Loughborough, dated from Ashby.
September	24	,,	Tuke, dated from St. Reeve.
September	26	,,	Byron, dated from Chester.
September	26	,,	Haoghton, dated from Chester.
September	30	,,	Tuke, dated from St. Reeve.
October	1	,,	Tuke, dated from Monmouth.
October	0	,,	Woodhouse, dated from Newent.
October	2	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
October	3	,,	Goring, dated from Bristol.
October	7	,,	Glenham, dated from Carlisle.
October	9	,,	Byron, dated from Chester.
October	11	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Blandford.
October	12	,,	Mayne, dated from Pontefract.
October	16	,,	Elyot, dated from Salisbury.
October	17	,,	Morgan, dated from Ragland.
October	18	,,	Mennes, dated from Beaumaris.
October	20	,,	Glenham, dated from Carlisle.
October	21	,,	Digby, dated from Whitchurch.
October	21	,,	Ernly, dated from Shrewsbury.
October	22	,,	Langdale, dated from Monmouth.
October	22	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
October	23	,,	Preston, dated from Newark.
October	25	,,	Digby, dated from Newbury.
October	26	,,	(2) Wintour, dated from St. Pierre.
October	27	,,	Digby, dated from Newbury.
October	27	,,	Cave, dated from Chester.
October	28	,,	Glenham, dated from Carlisle.
November	2	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
November	2	,,	Blagge, dated from Wallingford.
November	5	,,	Hastings, dated from Derby.
November	6	,,	Byron, dated from Newark.
November	9	,,	Herbert, dated from Newport.
November	11	,,	Billingsby, dated from Bridgenorth.
November	11	,,	Kirke, dated from Bridgenorth.
November	19	,,	Waller.
November	20	,,	Wintour, dated from Bristol.

November 21 written by Bagot, dated from Dudley Castle.
November 22 ,, Hawley, dated from Bristol.
November 22 ,, Gage, dated from Basing.
November 25–26 ,, Astley, dated from Farringdon.
November 27 ,, Haltby, dated from Bath.
November 29 ,, Hawley, dated from Bristol.
December 1 ,, Leveson, dated from Dudley Castle.
December 1 ,, Lloyd, dated from Farringdon.
December 1 ,, Northampton, dated from Swindon.
December 5 ,, Blount, dated from Petworth.
December 8 ,, Lloyd, dated from Farringdon.
December 10 ,, Astley, dated from Cirencester.
December 13 ,, Legge, dated from Farringdon.
December 13 ,, Grenville, dated from Bristol.
December 14 ,, Wyndham, dated from Bridgewater.
December 15 ,, Wyatt, dated from Salop.
December 17 ,, Astley, dated from Cirencester.
December 18 ,, Astley, dated from Cirencester.
December 18 ,, Blount, dated from Petworth.
December 22 ,, Lloyd, dated from Highworth.
December 23 ,, Astley, dated from Cirencester.
December 23 ,, Dongan, dated from Camden.
December 25 ,, Legge, dated from Farringdon.
December 25 ,, Watts, dated from Chirke Castle.
December 26 ,, Legge, dated from Farringdon.
December 27 ,, Astley, dated from Cirencester.
December 29 ,, Goring, dated from Calne.

1644-5.

January 1 written by Legge, dated from Farringdon.
January 3 ,, Ernly, dated from Shrewsbury.
January 4 ,, Lloyd, dated from Devizes.
January 4 ,, Astley.
January 6 ,, Wyndham, dated from Chard.
January 7 ,, Willis, dated from Bath.
January 8 ,, Lloyd, dated from Devizes.
January 9 ,, Goring, dated from Lanam.
January 12 ,, Langdale, dated from Winchester.
January 15 ,, Wyatt, dated from Evesham.
January 16 ,, Scrope, dated from Oxford.
January 16 ,, Prince Maurice, dated from Evesham.
January 18 ,, Northampton, dated from Banbury.
January 19 ,, Byron, dated from Oxford.
January 20 ,, Charles Rex.
January 20 ,, Northampton, dated from Banbury.
January 21 ,, Campion, dated from Borstall.
January 22 ,, Goring, dated from Salisbury.
January 23 ,, Molesworth, dated from Bridgenorth.
January 25 ,, Campion, dated from Borstall.
January 29 ,, Prince Maurice, dated from Worcester.
January 29 ,, Archbishop Yorke, dated from Conway.
February 13 ,, Dyves, dated from Sherborne.
February 15 ,, Cave, dated from Ludlow.
February 19 ,, Powis, dated from Berkeley Castle.
February 19 ,, Sandys, dated from Worcester.
February 19 ,, Willis, dated from Worcester.
February 22 ,, Kirke, dated from Bridgenorth.

February	22	written by	Sandys, dated from Worcester.
February	25	,,	Kirke, dated from Bridgenorth.
February	28	,,	Essex.
March	1	,,	Scudamore, dated from Hereford.
March	2	,,	Weston, dated from Berkeley Castle.
March	3	,,	Scudamore, dated from Hereford.
March	3	,,	Byron, dated from Glemene.
March	4	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
March	6	,,	Langdale, dated from Bingham.
March	9	,,	Gams, dated from Bristol.

Incompletely dated :—

	written by	Ashburnham, dated from the West.
	,,	Bagot, dated from Lichfield.
	,,	Byron, dated from Newark.
	,,	Charles Rex (two.)
	,,	Goring (two.)
	,,	Goring, dated from Wigan.
Wednesday, 5 A.M.	,,	Goring, dated from York.
	,,	Nicholas.

1645.

April	2	written by	Digby, dated from Oxford.
April	7	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford
April	27	,,	Hyde, dated from Bridgenorth.
April	27	,,	Digby, dated from Oxford.
April	27	,,	Digby, dated from Oxford.
April	29	,,	Digby, dated from Oxford.
April	29	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
April	30	,,	(2) Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
April	30	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
April	30	,,	Trevor, dated from Bristol.
May	1	,,	Gerrard, dated from Burford.
May	3	,,	Massey, dated from Sudley.
May	5	,,	Digby, dated from Lichfield.
May	5	,,	Jermyn, dated from Paris.
May	12	,,	Goring, dated from Bristol.
May	16	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
May	17	,,	Goring, dated from Mastock.
May	19	,,	Goring, dated from Bristol.
May	21	,,	Hyde, dated from Exeter.
May	22	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
May	27	,,	Hyde, dated from Bath.
June	20	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Hereford.
June	21	,,	Digby, dated from Hereford.
June	23	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
June	26	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
June	30	,,	Legge.
July	2	,,	Astley, dated from Ragley.
July	3	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Abergavenny.
July	6	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Abergavenny.
July	6	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Abergavenny.
July	7	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Ragland.
July	7	,,	Prince Maurice, dated from Worcester.
July	9	,,	Ashburnham, dated from Ragland.
July	11	,,	Ashburnham, dated from Ragland.
July	11	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Ragland.

July	11	written by	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
July	12	,,	Goring, dated from Dunster.
July	12	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
July	13	,,	Digby, dated from Ragland.
July	16	,,	Digby, dated from Ragland.
July	17	,,	Astaley, dated from Cardiff.
July	20	,,	Lucas, dated from Berkley.
July	22	,,	Watson, dated from Bridgewater.
July	23	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
July	24	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Newport.
July	25	,,	Laughton, dated from Lichfield.
July	25	,,	Lumsford, dated from Monmouth.
July	26	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Ruperry.
July	28	,,	Ashburnham, dated from Ragland.
July	28	,,	Digby, dated from Ruperry.
July	28	,,	Rupert, dated from Bristol.
July	28	,,	Lucas, dated from Barkby.
July	30	,,	Asteley, dated from Newport.
July	30	,,	Loughborough, dated from Lichfield.
August	2	,,	Prince of Wales, dated from Launceston.
August	3	,,	Richmond, dated from Cardiff.
August	4	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.
August	4	,,	Morton.
August	5	,,	Culpepper, dated from Cardiff.
August	11	,,	Ashburnham, dated from Lichfield.
August	11	,,	Astley, dated from Cardiff.
August	13	,,	Hawley, dated from Bristol.
August	15	,,	Astley, dated from Cardiff.
August	27	,,	Digby, dated from Ascot.
August	29	,,	Digby, dated from Ascot.
September	None	,,	Prince Rupert.
September	5	,,	Osborne, dated from Ludlow.
September	14	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Ragland.
September	20	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Newtown.
October	4	,,	Osborne, dated from London.
October	27	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Newark.
October	30	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Newark.
October	30	,,	Prince Rupert.
November	1	,,	Osborne, dated from London.
November	9	,,	Osborne, dated from London.
November	25	,,	A poor servant.
December	25	,,	Dorset, dated from Newport.

1645-6.

January	10	,,	Leveson, dated from Dudley.
January	10	,,	Nicholas, dated from Oxford.
January	25	,,	Goring, dated from Pondesford.

1645.

March	7	,,	Charles Rex, dated from Oxford.

Incompletely dated :—

,, Charles Rex.
,, Digby (two.)
,, Osborne, dated from London.
,, Therold, dated from Shrewsbury.

1647.

May	4	written by W. B., dated from Edinburgh.	

1648.

May	6	,,	Rokeby, dated from Calais.
May	16	,,	Neville, dated from London.
June	24	,,	Rokeby, dated from Labassey.
July	18	,,	Brampfylde, on board the Admiral.
August	6	,,	Johnson, dated from Sandowne.
August	12	,,	Long.
August	31	,,	O'Neile, dated from Havre.
September	5	,,	Jermyn, dated from Paris.
September	14	,,	Young, dated from Paris.
September	14	,,	Wakie, dated from Castle Cornet.
September	30	,,	Kent, dated from Vincenza.
October	1	,,	Hyde, dated from Brill.
October	2	,,	Hyde, dated from Brill.
October	2	,,	Long, dated from Brill.
October	7	,,	Montrose, dated from Brussels.
October	14	,,	Vavasour, dated from Middleburg.
October	16	,,	Jermyn, dated from Paris.
November	3	,,	Batten, dated from Rotterdam.
November	6	,,	Craven, dated from the Hague.
November	7	,,	Jaffat, dated from Paris.
November	12	,,	Culpepper, dated from Frarrenhagh.
November	13	,,	Berkley, dated from Teeling.
November	14	,,	Jermyn, dated from Paris.
November	15	,,	Moreton, dated from the Hague.
November	17	,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.
November	19	,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.
November	24	,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.
November	26	,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.
November	27	,,	Semkener, dated from Rotterdam.
November	29	,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.
	—	,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.
December	1	,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.
December	3	,,	Montrose, dated from Brussels.
December	5	,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.
December	6	,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.
December	9	,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.
December	10	,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.
December	11	,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.
December	13	,,	Dodington, dated from the Hague.
December	14	,,	Montrose, dated from Brussels.
December	14	,,	Katelbye.
December	15	,,	Ball, dated from Rotterdam.
December	15	,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.
December	16	,,	Long, dated from Rotterdam.
December	19	,,	Dodington, dated from Rotterdam.
December	22	,,	Hopton, dated from Helvoetsluys.
December	23	,,	Dodington, dated from the Hague.
December	30	,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.
December	31	,,	Boswell, dated from the Hague.
	—	,,	Pitt, dated from Helvoetsluys.
Date incomplete,		,,	Hyde, dated from the Hague.

Date incomplete, 6 written by Hyde, dated from the Hague.
27 „ Hyde, dated from the Hague.
28 „ Hyde, dated from the Hague.
August 26 „ Nottingham.

[*Here is a long break in the Correspondence.*]

1648-9.

January 2 written by Hopton, dated from Helvoetsluys.
January 5 „ Hopton, dated from Helvoetsluys.
January 12 „ Mennes, dated from Helvoetsluys.
January 20 „ Hyde, dated from the Hague.
January 21 „ Hyde, dated from the Hague.
January 22 „ Bellenden, dated from the Hague.
January 24 „ Hyde, dated from the Hague.
January 29 „ Hyde, dated from the Hague.
January 31 „ O'Sullivan, dated from Daventry.
February 1 „ Castlehaven, dated from Carrick.
February 2 „ Taaffe, dated from Carrick.
February 9 „ Hyde, dated from the Hague.
February 14 „ Bankes, dated from Rotterdam.
February 28 „ Hyde, dated from the Hague.
March 3 „ Blake, dated from Galway.
March 6 „ Inchiquin, dated from Cork.
March 7 „ Inchiquin, dated from Cork.
March 8 „ Inchiquin, dated from Cork.
March 14 „ O'Sullivan, dated from Bantry.
March 19 „ Butler, dated from Carrick.
March 19 „ Sortingue, dated from ——.
March 22 „ Tyers, dated from Galway.

1649.

March 26 „ Butler, dated from Carrick.
March 27 „ O'Neile, dated from Thurles.
April 3 „ Inchiquin, dated from Cork.
June 25 „ Jermyn, dated from Cork.
August 1 „ Jermyn, dated from Cork.
November 30 „ Nicholas, dated from Jersey.

1649-50.

January 3 „ Long, dated from
January 4 „ Hopton, dated from Hevoetsluys.
January 8 „ Montrose, dated from
January 10 „ Hopton, dated from Brill.
January 12 „ Dodington, dated from Rotterdam.
January 13 „ Long, dated from the Hague.
January 21 „ Hopton, dated from the Hague.
January 26 „ Craven, dated from the Hague.
February 7 „ Mennes, dated from Kinsale.
February 8 „ Montrose, dated from the Hague.
February 27 „ Montrose, dated from the Hague.
February 28 „ Long, dated from the Hague.
March 18 „ Hyde, dated from the Hague.

1650.

December 18 „ Cary and Legge, dated from Exeter Gaol.

1652.

October	17	written by	Pitt, dated from Angra.
November	4	,,	Marshall, dated from ship, Honest Seaman.
December	9	,,	Cushing, dated from Sam. Gullie's Town.

1652-3.

January	15	,,	Prise, dated from
February	6	,,	Jermyn, dated from Paris.
February	18	,,	Jermyn, dated from Paris.
March	17	,,	Nicholas, dated from the Hague.
March	17	,,	J. M., dated from
March	17	,,	Another, perhaps Paris.

1653.

March	22	,,	Jermyn, dated from Paris.
April	14	,,	Holmes, dated from his Majesty's ship Hopwell.
April	23	,,	Mansell, dated from the Hague.
April	24	,,	Cocke, dated from Lisbon.
May	3	,,	Holmes, dated from Nantes.
May	12	,,	De Vie M., dated from Brill.
May	17	,,	Holmes, dated from Nantes.
May	19	,,	Holmes, dated from Nantes.
May	24	,,	Holmes, dated from Nantes.
June	2	,,	Craven, dated from Nantes.
June	13	,,	Holmes, dated from Port Lorey.
October	18	,,	Kent, dated from Venice.
December	3	,,	Holder, dated from Paris.
December	3	,,	London, dated from the Hague.

1654.

July	25	,,	Holder, dated from Heidelburg.
August	1	,,	Holder, dated from Heidelburg.
August	8	,,	Holder, dated from Heidelburg.
August	26	,,	Holder, dated from Heidelburg.
September	1	,,	Holder, dated from Heidelburg.
October	7	,,	Holder, dated from Heidelburg.
October	14	,,	Holder, dated from Heidelburg.
November	10	,,	Nicholas, dated from Cologne.

1654-5.

March	11	,,	Langdale, dated from Antwerp.

1656.

September	11	,,	Cary, dated from Hamburg.

1658

May	6	,,	Nicholas, dated from Brussels,

SUNDRY DOCUMENTS RELATING TO 1642-3-4.

ALCHURCH, to the third borough of, and the assessors of the monthly contributions, or to pay to Worcester, March 8, 1643. Signed J. Fox.

BARNSTAPLE, offers of pardon to the mayor and corporation of. Signed Maurice. Given at his quarter Polesloe, August 27.

BARNSTAPLE, mayor and corporation's reply to Prince Maurice; thankful acceptation.

BARNSTAPLE, Charles approves of articles; extract dated September 5.

BALLS, Captain, remonstrates against Sir J. Ashley taking away his horses from Reading, January 4—addressed to Prince Rupert.

BRISTOL, council whether to assault or approach the city, July 22.

EVESHAM, instructions to Colonel Washington concerning it, by command of the King. Signed by Robert Sanden, of Shrewsbury.

GLOUCESTER, journal of the siege, August.

LATHOM HOUSE, solicitation for the relief of, from gentlemen of Chester, to Prince Rupert, March 23.

NEWARK, remonstrance concerning its state, from counties of Leicester and Nottingham, January 31, to the King.

NEWARK, another letter from the same, February 12.

NEWARK, from Nottingham gentry, February 19.

NEWBURY, relation of the battle, September 20.

NORTH WALES, backwardness in raising levies.

OXFORD, resolution of the Committee to prepare a letter to the Lords and Commons, at Westminster, treating of peace, February 14.

OXFORD, reply to complaints from Prince Maurice, March 12.

WORCESTER, address from, certifying that the enemy is driven out of Gloucester, March 25.

Humble petition of officers of northern horse to the King, 1644.

Petition of his Majesty's old horse to the King, August 8; reply to the same.

Declaration of Sir Marmaduke Langdale.

Representation from Colonel Tuke and the garrison of Cirencester to Prince Rupert.

Northern horse represents its condition to Prince Rupert.

March 29—Commissioners of York implore aid of Prince Rupert.

April 1—address from Commissioners of Lincolnshire to Prince Rupert.

April 2—second petition from Commissioners of York to Prince Rupert.

April 8—paper of advice concerning enemy's designs. Signed H. L.

April 23—commissions of Col. J. Digby, and Sir J. Barclay, to serve under Prince Maurice.

April 24—affairs of the North, dated Newark, to Prince Rupert.

April 26—affairs of the North.

May 6—advertisements from Newark about York; taking of Lincoln—to the King.

May 13—concerning the Prince's going to Cornwall, dated Oxon—to Prince Rupert, &c.

May 27—report of the Council of War at Oxford.

June 14—letter, in cipher, from Carmarthen. Signed C. G.

June 27—proclamation in favour of Scottish officers and soldiers of fortune. Signed Lord Callendar.

July 16—letter from captain of a Parliament frigate, demanding the surrender of Lundy Island; reply from Archibald Calke.

August 8—(see above) petition of old horse to the King, and his reply.

WORCESTER, August 19—apologies for not raising regiments of horse and foot. To Prince Rupert.

WORCESTER, August 19—prayer for the loan of six hundred horse from his Majesty.

HEREFORD, Aug. 29—Commissioners concerning government of the town, to Prince Rupert.

EXETER, September 4—relation of his Majesty's success against the rebels in the West; an express to the Duke of York and Earl of Bristol.

September 13—Prince Elector's reasons for coming to England, presented to Parliament.

CAERLEON, September 30—disquiets in Monmouthshire, addressed to Prince Rupert.

October 1—Meldrum's summons to Liverpool.

October 21—represents state of Shrewsbury to Prince Rupert.

NEWARK, Nov. 11—letter from W. Warwick to Sir E. Nicholas; another from Pomfret.

CIRENCESTER, December 23—state of the garrison.

Feb. 21, 1644-5—London and Scots Commissioners; proposals for seven years' militia.

March 5—Newark and northern proposition for the relief of Pontefract, addressed to Prince Rupert.

INDEX AND ABSTRACT

OF

CORRESPONDENCE.

[*The following Abstracts are taken directly from the letters that they represent, without remarks.*]

ASHBURNHAM, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, July 1,—concerning the clothing of the troops under Lord Wentworth's command.

ASHBURNHAM, Northleach, to Prince Rupert, September 17,—his Majesty intends to lodge that night at Lady Ashcomb's house, Alscott.

ASHBURNHAM, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, January 25, 9 A.M.—advertises his Royal Highness, by command of his Majesty, that the rebels from Aylesbury, with as great strength as they can muster, are marching towards Northampton.

ASHBURNHAM, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, same day, 9¼ A.M.—the strength that followeth his Royal Highness is nine hundred dragoons and one regiment of horse.

ASHBURNHAM, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, same day, midnight—Essex has not marched on his Royal Highness; the King's forces have defeated the rebels in the West under Lord Stamford, leaving twelve hundred dead on the field.

ASTLEY, Sir Jacob, Reading, to Prince Rupert, October 27,—has received intelligence that six regiments of trainbands from London are marching upon the town, is preparing "all that ever he can to entertain them."

ASTLEY, Sir Jacob, Reading, to Prince Rupert, October 28—laments the withdrawal from the garrison of fifteen hundred men, by his Royal Highness's order, the enemy being at hand, and leaving him only sixteen hundred and four armed and able men to defend it.

ASTLEY, Sir Jacob, Reading, to Prince Rupert, November 11—commands to his Royal Highness as lieutenant-colonel, "without whom the regiment would not be in such good order as it is;" continues to fortify the town, and asks for supplies, "the garrison in ten weeks having got but five weeks' pay."

ASTLEY, Sir Jacob, Reading, to Prince Rupert, December 21—states, that unless his regiment has an order for pay, or is allowed free quarter, it is impossible for it to subsist; has prepared for the retreat of his troops across the river, in case of being overpowered by the enemy.

ASTLEY, Sir Jacob, Reading, to Prince Rupert, January 11,—concerning Captain Ball, who complains of his horses being taken from him, whereas he employs them, under pretence of his Highness's warrant, to plunder the people.

ASTLEY, Sir Jacob, Reading, to Prince Rupert, January 13—the mayor and aldermen of the town petition to have certain contributions required of them remitted, "wherein they plead great poverty and inability;" continued complaints of Captain Ball; his conduct.

ASTLEY, Sir Jacob, Reading, to Prince Rupert, January 14—concerning levying money for the payment of the troops; concerning Mr. Pearse and Mr. Faucet, artillery officers.

ASTON, Arthur, Reading, to Prince Rupert, June 11—concerning a French officer of artillery; warning against design.

ASTON, Arthur, Bletchington, to Prince Rupert, June 23—reports that Essex intends to march towards Aylesbury; desires Rupert to take into consideration whether

it were not best to march straight to Buckingham, to prevent his advancing to Northampton, and raising the country.

ASTON, Sir Arthur, Bletchington, to Prince Rupert, June 24—concerning the quartering of his Royal Highness's troops, and as to whether he is to keep his Royal Highness's proposed rendezvous.

ASTON, Sir Arthur, Bletchington, to Prince Rupert, June 25—gives his opinion that his Royal Highness's regiments will be "very hard put to it, by reason of the straitness of their quarters."

ASTON, Sir Arthur, Wootton-under-Wood, to Prince Rupert, August 4—concerning the order of march to the rendezvous at Painswick.

ASTON, Sir Arthur, Painswick, three miles from Gloucester, to Prince Rupert, August 7—conceives that summoning the city to surrender will be of little service, until they can put it to some distress; represents the difficulties of the country, and the disaffection of the people.

ASTON, Sir Arthur, Painswick, three miles from Gloucester, to Prince Rupert, same day, 10 A.M.—doubts they shall have a hard business in reducing the city to surrender, as it is fully as strong and better watered than Bristol; is about to stop a stream which supplies the city mill.

ASTON, Sir Arthur, Reading, to Prince Rupert, November 12—has to deal with such people committed to his command, that "rather than be left with them, he wishes Rupert had adjudged him to lose his head," for now he is like "to lose that and his reputation at the same time."

ASTON, Sir Arthur, Easton, to Prince Rupert, November 28—had hoped to see his Royal Highness here that day, but "sending for his servants and baggage does not betoken any such thing."

ASTON, Sir Arthur, Reading, to Prince Rupert, November 21—the King having intelligence that the enemy is marching towards them, desires that all the troops under Prince Rupert's command stir not from their quarters until further directions. Postscript from his Majesty's hand.

ASTON, Sir Arthur, Easton, to Prince Rupert, November 22—thanks Prince Rupert for advertising him that he has "back friends" at Court; the rebels' horse lie between Newport and St. Albans; thinks "the Londoners would not stir this cold weather."

ASTON, Sir Arthur, Easton, to Prince Rupert, November 27—reports that the works at Towcester are in such forwardness, that it is more than time a governor should be appointed; has a mind to drive away what cattle he can round Northampton, and to destroy what corn they cannot use.

ASTON, Sir Arthur, Easton, to Prince Rupert, December 6—should have received his Royal Highness's orders for marching five or six days sooner, but Colonel Cockran has kept them so long in his hands; requests that a quartermaster be sent him.

ASTON, Sir Arthur, Easton, to Prince Rupert, December 27—requests that Prince Rupert will take into especial consideration the victualling of the town, "as it is impossible to be done in the way that his Royal Highness propounded it," and that he will order concerning the quartering of the regiments, and the command in chief.

ASTON, Sir Arthur, Reading, to Prince Rupert, February 19—beseeches that one thousand foot may be sent, otherwise all will go to nought, and that he "may be rid of the unarmed men that trouble the town, and do no service."

ASTON, Sir Arthur, to Prince Rupert, February 28—concerts with Prince Rupert measures for attacking the enemy's works near Henley.

ASTON, Sir Arthur, Reading, to Prince Rupert, March 1—thinks "some evil fate hangs over all Prince Rupert's designs," for no sooner is a business spoken of "than either by information or inspiration, the enemy hath notice thereof," they having doubled their forces in Henley.

BERKSHIRE, Earl of, Emeline Lodge, to Prince Rupert, June 21—had hoped to effect an exchange for his son Harry, who is prisoner at Tame; but William Sheffield, Lord Musgrave's son, and another Scotch prisoner, left on parole by Prince Rupert at Stodam, have been rescued by a troop from Lord Essex; hopes Prince Rupert will still devise "some way for him that is so willing to venture his life in this cause, in which he has got five sons remaining."

BELASIS, J., York, to Prince Rupert, May 17—sends copies of two intercepted letters from Sir Thomas Fairfax to Hall, "in which their design for Yorkshire is apparent;"

fears that, if father and son join, its safety will be much endangered; will be able to make two thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse (besides garrisons) to wait upon Prince Rupert if he comes.

BELASIS, J., to Lord Newcastle, Feb. 14—"submits to his Excellency whether it will not be of greater consequence to preserve Yorkshire certainly than employ all that strength upon doubtful alarms elsewhere," Sir Charles Lucas having drawn his troops away to look to Newark, threatened by rebels.

BELL, Thomas, London, to John Moody, at Bury, Sept. 10 (private letter)—relating to traffic with Virginia, whither the writer is bound, and hopes on his return to give a final account, "and will make it good out of his own, rather than procure a friend's discontent, which hath not been in his power to help."

BELLOW, Colonel John, the North, to Prince Rupert, (part of a letter)—has gained some advantage over Sir Thomas Fairfax—caused them to move their quarters, and enter conjunction with Lord Fairfax, at Hemdon Meldrum, whence he has one thousand foot, one thousand horse, six pieces of artillery; Sir Thomas Fairfax has one thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and five hundred foot more, come out of the Isle (Axholme).

BERKELEY, John, Topsham, to Prince Rupert, July 21—relates that the fleet, which had been so long a great distraction, had come up in the night this side Powderham, intending to batter the town, and land their army, but both their designs had been prevented; has taken Turpin, their leader, his man-of-war, and two more, and is in hopes of "one of the whelps that sailed from them very sickly."

BLAGGE, Thomas, Wallingford, to Prince Rupert, May 12—believes that the "enemy is strengthening himself with design upon some of their quarters;" for this place he will take the best care he can to prevent a surprise, and "for a beleaguering he does assure his Royal Highness, that this place, by God's grace, shall be maintained for as long as it is provided for, which is fourteen days with victuals, and twenty barrels of powder made, and bullets proportionable."

BLAGGE, Thomas, Wallingford, to Prince Rupert, June 1—concerning assigning certain villages to furnish support to the garrison, and that Prince Rupert "will be pleased to free them from Captain Freshville, of General Wilmot's regiment, who claims contributions from them."

BLAGGE, Thomas, Wallingford, to Prince Rupert, March 2—hears "with great affliction from his lieutenant-colonel" that Prince Rupert "is angry with him," concerning some impositions laid by him on Harwell, &c., "to answer which, whensoever his Royal Highness please to summon the accusers, he will be ready to wait on his Royal Highness, to make it appear they are a company of d—d villains."

BLAGGE, Thomas, Wallingford, to Prince Rupert, this present Monday (no date)—the hundreds assigned to him are "so oppressed by the rebels, besides the warrants which are sent by Sir Lewis Dives and the sheriff," that they are unable to supply the works, which comes to weekly one hundred and odd; "hopes Prince Rupert will cause the magazine to be furnished with one thousandweight of biscuit, eighteen hundredweight of cheese, thirty barrels of powder, fiftyweight of meal, and thirty of oatum; and then, let them come when they please, he will, upon his life, give his Royal Highness such account as shall give satisfaction."

BLAGGE, Thomas, Wallingford, to Prince Rupert, at night—relates the movements of the enemy, who marched out of Nettlebed, and are waiting till more join them before they conceive themselves able to give his Majesty battle; "the prate among them is that Waller is to join them at Tame."

BLAGGE, Thomas, Wallingford, to Prince Rupert—hears that the rebels intend "to fall upon the town, but, if they come no stronger, he believes he shall make bold to send them back at least as fast as they come;" but, if his Royal Highness will send a reasonable party of horse, he "is confident if they attempt it few shall carry news of their adventure."

BLAGGE, Thomas, Wallingford, to Prince Rupert—had fallen in with a superior force in Bostall of rebels, five thousand horse, which he engaged, and at first disordered; "but the reserve falling so strong upon their flanks at last, to tell truth, they were routed, and, what is worse, beaten, yet not so but that we drew up again and charged them before we came to Tame."

BLAXTON, W., Brill, to Lord ——, December 14—enemy retreating from Aylesbury.

BOYS, John, Dennington Castle, to Prince Rupert, January 30—meeting amongst Colonel Neville's regiment quartered in Newbury; rescuing a prisoner; endeavour-

ing to drive the foot out of the town, and neglecting to mount guard; had set one trooper "on the horse;" prays Prince Rupert to take some speedy course to avoid such for the future, "as he ought not to suffer anything to detract from the command given him, it being an undervaluing of his Majesty who gives it."

BRADSHUGH, William, Bradford, to Sir F. Vane, Feb. 10—concerning the enemy's movements, who increase at Halifax, and are supposed to be for Leeds.

BRISTOL, Lord, to Prince Rupert, (no date) September—that the King grants "the horse" asked for as his Highness's guard.

BROUGHTON, Robert, Ruthin, to Colonel Lloyd, February 22—*en route* to Shrewsbury.

BURGES, Robert, Malmesbury, to Prince Rupert, March 6—sends, according to his Royal Highness's command, all the ammunition he has; beseeches for more.

BYRON, Lord, Reading, to Prince Rupert, December 10—asks artillery.

BYRON, John, Brackley, to Prince Rupert, July 4—has quartered his brigade in the town and neighbourhood; sent a party to draw such horses and cattle as it can from round Southampton.

BYRON, John, Brackley, to Prince Rupert, July 27—soldiers in his brigade desert their colours because they were not left to share the pillage of Bristol; prays for "authority to assure them that though they be absent by his Royal Highness's command, yet they shall have their parts as well as others."

BYRON, John, Brackley, to Prince Rupert, November 4—writes for Lord Wilmot, who is fallen ill; hears from Ashburnham that there is no pay for his regiment, as he was promised; "is certain it will be impossible for him to keep it longer together."

BYRON, John, Brackley, to Prince Rupert, November 7—acknowledges great obligations to Prince Rupert, particularly for the noble offer of command in Lancashire, which, if the county agree to his conditions, and he has the sole command of horse and foot, he would cheerfully and willingly undertake; but wishes to make sure first whether he will have the appointment of governor to the Prince of Wales, "as that is an employment likely to continue to his advantage when this war is ended."

BYRON, John, to Prince Rupert, November 9—a poor woman, employed to convey intelligence, has been sent to Lord Essex, and is probably hanged; the quarters are so eaten up, that it will be impossible to subsist more than three or four days; asks pay for his regiment, "otherwise he shall have none, and he must ride a volunteer in his Royal Highness's troop; the old tried regiments should have rest this winter, and let the new levied troops learn their duty.

BYRON, John, Chester, to Prince Rupert, February 11—two regiments and three hundred horse have landed from Ireland, Colonels Broughton, Tillier, General W. Vaughan; because they are straitened, and to avoid rioting and disorder, he has sent them to Shrewsbury.

BYRON, John, Wisterton, to Prince Rupert, January 14—congratulates Prince Rupert on having chief command in these parts, and thanks him "for the great honour done him in thinking him worthy of that next his Royal Highness;" holds Chester much safer and fitter for a magazine than Shrewsbury, "which is a disaffected town, and hath only a garrison of burghers, and a doting old fool for their governor;" had gained an advantage over Fairfax at Newcastle, which he had requested lately for Sir M. Willis, whom he sent to convey some ammunition from Shrewsbury; was surprised at Elsmere, and made prisoner with many more.

BYRON, John, Chester, to Prince Rupert, February 20—Lord Brenton, or Brereton, is besieged in Bee Isle; house can yet hold out six or seven days if Prince Rupert can send relief from Shrewsbury: it will be a great service; there are seven or eight hundred arms in the house; most of the cannon from Stafford, but slenderly guarded chiefly by country people.

BYRON, John, Chester, to Prince Rupert, February 21—remonstrates against Alderman Gamall being appointed governor of the city; hopes Prince Rupert will "make a stop of it: if this be admitted, the like will be attempted by all the corporations in England.

BYRON, John, Chester, to Prince Rupert, same day, 10 P. M.—the Irish troops, sent to Shrewsbury, will expect the same conditions as the first that landed, which was for all the officers a monthly entertainment for every soldier, 2*s.* 6*d.*, suit of clothes, shoes, and stockings; since their landing, the officers have received nothing but their week's pay, but the soldiers have had free quarters, 12*d.* in money every week, which is more than ever they had in Ireland, and to which he desires Prince

Rupert to keep them, else it will cause mutiny amongst them that are here, to which they are as inclined as any soldiers in the world.

Byron, John, to Prince Rupert, March 2—differences in the Isle of Anglesea between Lord Bulkeley and Captain Charles; "finds the charges against the latter cannot be made good, being, like most Welsh complaints, grounded upon malice of action;" "and his greatest fault is that he is not a Welchman."

Byron, John, to Prince Rupert, (no date)—"hopes soon to be called under his Royal Highness's command; dares assure him that the world hath not braver foot, nor fitter for such a general: the horse he knows already."

Byron, N., Chester, to Prince Rupert, December 12—Hardinge Castle poorly surrendered, as it was basely betrayed by the rebels; this day the army marches out of Chester; Lord Ormond in command; himself a volunteer till his Royal Highness's pleasure.

Byron, N., Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert, January—relation of his proceedings; county is in a manner cleared for Nantwich; "is in very much pain, and frets underhand;" prays that at last he may be thought capable of a regiment of foot of his own; craves a commission to raise ten or twelve hundred foot.

Byron, N., Chester, to Lord Capell, lieutenant-general to his Royal Highness, April 5, 12 P.M.: another date, Ellsau, April 5, 7 A.M.—the rebels have set afresh upon Warrington; if the Royalists "hope to do anything, they must make a show now;" therefore, his Royal Highness's forces must be drawn towards Whitechurch; all the art he has to keep Lord Derby up with hopes of Prince Rupert.

Biron, Richard, Newark, to Prince Rupert, February 10—"the rebels take the boldness (for want of force to repel them) to quarter in divers towns within three or four miles of this garrison; they are twelve columns of foot and twenty troop of horse; if they should do no more than continue where they are, they shall hinder the money and provisions that should maintain themselves; great bodies of the enemy threaten to unite to the hazard of this plan;" leaves to his Royal Highness's care for its "timely assistance."

Biron, Thomas, Banbury, to Prince Rupert, February 3—professing willingness to assault Warwick Castle, but stating difficulty, and asking for one gun and a petard.

Capell, Lord, Shropshire, to Prince Rupert, July 12—finds his forces very much diminished, believes very few will march up with him, has drawn them to Bideford, waiting Prince Rupert's further commands, upon the officers' and soldiers' earnest desire, being without meat and drink in his quarter.

Capell, Lord, Bridgnorth, to Viscount Falkland, (private secretary to the King) March 26,—whether it might not be best for Prince Maurice to take Tewkesbury and Worcester *en route* to Stafford, and thereby secure them from any of Waller's motions; had desired Colonel Hastings to draw his forces to Stowbridge from Wolverhampton, to be ready to relieve Worcester.

Capell, Lord, Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert, April 4—found much disorder in the county; Sir W. Brereton, master of the field in Cheshire; only Chester and the country under it of his Majesty's party; has disbanded the garrison at Whitchurch, as, if the rebels take that place, they may gain Liverpool and all Lancashire; whether his Royal Highness might not himself look upon them; could meet him with fourteen hundred horse and foot.

Capell, Lord, Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert, (no date)—Rebels have now possessed themselves of Drayton; Prince Rupert's regiment having been drawn away, pays for an addition of fifteen hundred or two thousand musketeers, to drive the rebels out of Hamptwich and Stafford, otherwise it will be almost impossible to preserve these parts.

Capell, Lord, Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert, April 6—forwards advertisements to Prince Rupert; has ordered the forces to be drawn towards Whitchurch, according to Prince Rupert's order. "Lord Darby and his Majesty's servants in Lancashire have preserved their lands beyond expectation."

Capell, Lord, Whitchurch, to Prince Rupert, April 13—sends Prince Maurice a supply of ammunition, if he wants more; Lord Cavendish disbands some of his troops; Brereton is returned, has pursued him "as fast as in this vile country is fit."

Capell, Lord, Whitchurch, to Prince Rupert, April 14—has written to Lord Derby about falling upon Nantwich, who thinks it belongs to Lord Capell; he has no great confidence unless he attends on Prince Rupert.

CARNARVON, Lord—according to Prince Rupert's commands, he will draw his regiment to Banbury, upon an intimation to that effect from Lord Northampton.

CAVENDISH, Colonel, to Prince Rupert,—makes humble suit that he may be allowed to recruit the Duke of York's troops, which Prince Rupert has graciously assigned him, and which has but thirty men.

CAVENDISH, Colonel, Grantham, to Prince Rupert, April 12—had yesterday the good fortune to gain a great victory over the rebels; beseeches to be favoured concerning his troops, or be commanded away.

CAVE, Richard, Milton, to Prince Rupert, October 17—four physicians have seen Prince Maurice, whose sickness they pronounce "the ordinary raging disease of the army," a slow fever, with great dejection of strength, and since Friday he hath talked idly; "last night shewed better symptoms," yet because the disease is very dangerous and fraudulent, they dare not give credit to the alteration.

CAVE, Richard, Dartmouth, to Prince Rupert, November 4—is in favour of an immediate assault on Plymouth, but the council of war decided against it. Prince Maurice not able yet to write letters, but hath this day taken physic, and so intends to bid his physicians farewell.

THE KING, Oxford, to Lord Northampton, January 2 — warrant authorising Lord Northampton to seize all the provision in the town, and remove it to Banbury Castle for the use of his soldiers, and, on the approach of the enemy, to fire the town, and remove his horse to a place of safety.

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, February 1—desires Prince Rupert to render favourable assistance to his trusty and well-beloved Sir Bainham Throgmorton, who has his Majesty's commission for raising a troop of horse.

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 8—hopes that God may give him Bristol (ciphers); Lord Hopton to have the same power (to grant commissions) that Goring had.

THE KING, Shrewsbury, September 22—that Prince Rupert remain in readiness to prevent Essex from cutting off his Majesty's return from Chester; arms taken from the disaffected to be sent to Sir J. Biron at Worcester.

THE KING, Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert, October 9—that colonels of horse impress carts to fetch away arms, such "as packs and patts," from the magazine at Shrewsbury; "who first shall send shall first be furnished."

THE KING to Prince Rupert, October 23 (4 a. m.),—has given orders for the foot and cannon to be at Edge Hill by times this morning, where Prince Rupert will also find his Majesty.

THE KING, Reading, to Prince Rupert, November 27—authorises Prince Rupert to order all the colonels of horse to quarter and billet their regiments in the places assigned, and if they cannot then take up sufficient provision, to send forth their warrants to the villages and hundreds adjacent, for which a ticket is to be given to the amount of 1*s.* 2*d.* each; officer's pay per day for self and horse 1*s.* 2*d.*; soldier's pay for his own diet; "the horseмeat being supplied by the counties adjacent;" this manner to be observed till they agree on some other.

THE KING, Oxford, probably written to Lord Northampton, January 2—seize all stores in Banbury for castle, and burn the town if rebels come.

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, February 1—notifying Sir B. Throgmorton's authority to raise troops.

THE KING to Prince Rupert, (same date)—that at Cirencester, Stroud, &c. there is much cloth, and much required by the soldiers to take it, and give security to owners for repayment.

THE KING to Prince Rupert, February 3—to send his Majesty all the arms he has taken.

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, November 13—to hasten the departure of Lord Biron, or "they will come too late." Prince Rupert to be supplied with other forces in their place, with all possible expedition.

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, February 13—recommends Colonel Gamull, Governor of Chester, to Prince Rupert's care and favour, that he suffer no wrong and prejudice during his absence, as M. P. at Oxon, by his regiment being taken from him.

THE KING, Oxford, (by hand of E. Nicholas, his Majesty's private secretary,) to Prince Rupert, February 18—sends copy of remonstrance from Commissioners of Lincoln and Nottingham, representing state of those counties and of Newark, whence Cromwell and Manchester are levying forces to fall upon Newark; his Majesty recom-

mends to Prince Rupert's prudent decision and dispatch, making a proportionable diversion of those their designs, and the succouring of Newark.

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 2—an enemy's convoy is on its move from Warwick towards Gloucester; desires Prince Rupert to march his regiment with all possible speed towards Worcester, to intercept it; to give notice to Sir W. Vavasour of his movements, whom he is to obey in this service.

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 16—Prince Rupert to leave in the county of Stafford such competent forces as may secure the same, and use all possible diligence to assist his Majesty's endeavours to repell the great forces of the rebels now before Reading.

THE KING to Prince Rupert, (by Sir James Aurion, same date)—same subject; Colonel Hastings to be left with troops in Staffordshire; hopes Prince Rupert will have done his work about Lichfield before this can come to him.

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 9—his Majesty approves Prince Rupert's designs on Derby, but leaves it to him whether Nantwich is not better; only in his choice do that which shall conduce most to his Majesty's wife's coming hither; he sees no possibility of supplying Prince Rupert with ammunition; regrets Lord Derby's death; will not dispose of his command till he see Prince Rupert.

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 15—not to raise the siege (Lichfield), but lose no more time in it than he most needs, and then march northwards; wants ammunition from Earl of Newcastle, to be sent.

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, July 7—to "trusty and well beloved," appointing Prince Rupert commander-in-chief. He is to "repair with a part of his Majesty's forces for the more secure coming of our dearest consort the Queen, in her passage to us.

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, July 12—the motion his Majesty made yesterday to his "wife," of her forces coming through Gloucestershire in order to Waller's confusion, is so well approved of by his Lieutenant-General, that he sends the bearer to Prince Rupert to enlarge upon it; "he will not be too fond of his own child, but is sure that the beating of Wales is first and chiefly to be intended."

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, July 20—likes Prince Rupert's resolutions, only "he must remember how fit it is to hinder Waller's recruiting," "it being of more importance to his affairs to receive him, than the taking of any towns."

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, July 23—an alarm last night; a party of rebels' horse, said to be three thousand, but found not above thirty at most, being the cause. Essex is drawing towards Aylesbury, wherefore Prince Pupert must hasten all the regiments he can spare, since his Majesty believes numbers of horse are not much useful for a siege.

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, July 24—to second his former letter about hastening hither horse, since Essex hath five hundred fresh horse come to him at Aylesbury; Lord Grey has joined, and Sir W. Waller coming from London.

THE KING to Prince Rupert, (same date)—did not write last night, having other affairs and knowing "that Prince Rupert does not expect" compliments from him, but must not be so forgetful now, having time not only to congratulate with Prince Rupert for this last happy success in the taking of Bristol, but to acknowledge the chief thanks belongs to Prince Rupert, which he assures him adds to his contentment.

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, July 31—signifies his intention of setting forth on the morrow for Bristol; will lie that night at Malmesbury; desires a troop of horse be sent to attend him; "the mayor and corporation have deserved so ill of him that he will neither be reasoned by them nor admit them to his presence till the businesses be settled."

THE KING, Matson, near Gloucester, to Prince Rupert, September 5, 10 a. m.—concurs with his general in opinion that little good can be done with this town, as the enemy begin to countermine it; it would be better to fight Essex after they (the Royalists) have got their forces together, "and that no time be lost."

THE KING to Prince Maurice, (same date)—(extract) approves of conditions with the town (Barnstaple); offers formal pardon to any individual "who may think fit to take it out."

THE KING, Newbury, to Prince Rupert, September 22—signifies his will and pleasure that Prince Rupert forthwith repair with his forces to the castle of Dennington (in Berks) to keep the same, and command all the officers, &c., there.

THE KING, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, November 11—that upon sight of this letter Prince

Rupert order Lord Byron to march towards Chester, all the other Lancashire regiments being ordered to join Lord Byron where he may appoint.

COCHERAN, J., Towcester, to Prince Rupert, January 1—reasons against marching out of the town in a covert way, as had been proposed; enemy's scouts every night; the horse are few in number, and very poor.

COCHERAN, J., Towcester, to Prince Rupert, December 11—is much troubled with some weak regiments quartered about the town by order of Sir A. Aston; intreats his Majesty to direct "that they remove to some convenient place, for he need not expect any service from them."

COCHERAN, J., Towcester, to Prince Rupert, December 16—is reduced to greater perplexities since the Hundreds intended for the maintenance of this garrison have been assigned to Lord Northampton for Banbury, and those left to him are ruined by the long abode of the horse amongst them; requires a weekly supply of 300*l.*

COCHERAN, J., Towcester, to Prince Rupert, December 30, 3 A.M.—two officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Hutchinson and Major Sibbald, went out of the town, and were seized by the enemy, the major being left for dead; it is so inexcusable for officers to go without acquainting their superior officer "that, though it were his own brother, he would think it well deserved what they got."

COCHERAN, J., Towcester, to Prince Rupert, January 1—what Prince Rupert wishes will require time; enemy very strong; Essex, in Newport, is afraid nobody will stay with him if money come not very suddenly.

CONYNGSBY, W. and others, Hereford, to Prince Rupert, February 24—asking for arms taken from them by Lord Stamford, if Gloucester should be taken by the Prince.

CRAFURD, Farringdon, to Prince Rupert, May 5—one that was prisoner with the enemy brings intelligence that they are some fifteen miles off, towards Newbury, not above one hundred and fifty in number; asks his Royal Highness's leave "to give an account of them."

CRAFURD, Farringdon, to Prince Rupert, May 7—confirms former account; they lie along the border of Hampshire; with a few forces more all their quarters might be beaten up; waits Prince Rupert's orders.

CRAFURD, Farringdon, to Prince Rupert, May 19—hearing that the rebels were of considerable strength near their quarters, had conveyed the ammunition to Marlborough, with all the force he had, and delivered it safe into Lord Carnarvon's hands; returned so late that he did not receive in time Prince Rupert's orders to come to Wantage.

CRAFURD, Farringdon, to Prince Rupert, May 26—a party of rebels about Malmesbury have escaped him very narrowly; Waller is coming to Cirencester from Gloucester, and has sent out orders for bringing in contributions, but Lord Carnarvon "has given strict orders to the contrary, threatening fire and sword if they paid him a penny."

CRAFURD, Farringdon, to Prince Rupert, June 14—has intelligence of two hundred rebels belonging to Bristol, and of the horse they have quartered in villages remote from the town; asks leave to fight them.

CULPEPPER, J., Aylesbury, to Prince Rupert, March 19—suggests quarter to Aylesbury if they secure affection by mercy; forwards intelligence that six waggons of ammunition, guarded by three hundred dragoons, are *en route* from London for the relief of Gloucester, through Warwickshire, whilst a body from Gloucester are making a diversion to Prestbury.

DARELL, Robert, Cirencester, to Sir B. Throgmorton, January 17—touching some "hawkers'" cannon.

D'AUBIGNY, Kate, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, (no date)—concerning Vavasour, Lindsey, and Essex, private, to Prince Rupert, seeking confidence—(very much erased.)

D'AUBIGNY, Kate, to Prince Rupert, March (no date)—concerning Vavasour and Essex advancing.

DERBY, Lord, Preston, to the King's Secretary, March, 22—long account of burning Lancaster and ships; repulse; sack of Preston; asks for ever so little of Prince Rupert.

DERBY, Lord, Chester, to Prince Rupert, March 7—has received many advertisements from the Countess of her great distress and imminent danger, unless she be relieved by Prince Rupert; longs for his Royal Highness's arrival, which, more than any troops, "strikes terror to that wicked party, and gives life to the half-dead true ones."

DERBY, Lord, Derby, to Prince Rupert, March 23—assures his Royal Highness that Lathom House is in very great distress, although Prince Rupert has been told "that the siege was but a flourish, and to shoot at deer."

DERBY, Countess of, Lathom, to Prince Rupert (in French)—entreats Prince Rupert to consider the state of the place, and to judge by his own presence.

DERBY, Countess of, Lathom, to Prince Rupert, August 31—asking for a regiment of cavalry.

DERBY, Countess of, Lathom, to Prince Rupert, (same date)—also to come to the North to secure the Queen's march.

DIGBY, Lord, Wantage, to the King—certain news that the enemy are gathering strong at Marlborough; "if they be not very speedily crushed, the regiments will hereabout be in very warm quarters;" "if Wilmot and Lord Wentworth will join, he will give them, on the morrow, a very warm breakfast."

DIGBY, Lord, Wantage, to Prince Rupert, December 31—troops in extreme necessity, having neither clothes, nor shoes, nor money to pay for the shoeing of their horses; asks Prince Rupert's opinion "which way, and to what place, it will be fit for the King to march with his army."

DIGBY, Lord, Alnescot, to Prince Rupert, September 17—professes continued faithfulness to his Royal Highness.

DIGBY, Lord, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, February 13—recommends to Prince Rupert the especial care of defending Newark.

DIGBY, Lord, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, February 26—the rebels obstinately refuse treaties of peace.

DIGBY, Lord, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, Palm Sunday—"congratulates Prince Rupert on the good effect his reputation has had upon the rebels at Malmesbury;" begs to be allowed to attend his Royal Highness on his Northern expedition.

DINGLEY, T., the Hague, to Prince Rupert, June 14—very amusing private letter from a servant of the Queen of Bohemia to a friend to whom he proposes "a moral correspondence."

DIVES, Lewis, Abingdon, to Prince Rupert, January 21—complains of the "caterpillars," or Royal soldiers, as worse than the enemy; "will hang some of them."

DIVES, Lewis, Abingdon, to Prince Rupert, February 21—asks to enlarge his quarters, much straitened by the sheriff, who is keeping them for men he cannot raise; county gentlemen much dissatisfied.

DIVES, Lewis, Abingdon, to Prince Rupert, June 6—enemy move from Reading.

DIVES, Lewis, Abingdon, to Prince Rupert, June 15—horses coming in from country.

DIVES, Lewis, Abingdon, to Prince Rupert, June 23—enemy moves to Farringdon.

DIVES, Lewis, Stoney Stratford, to Prince Rupert, October 28, 3 A.M.—has received intelligence that Essex's army advances towards him; intends to lead the foot towards Buckinghamshire and wait Prince Rupert's further pleasure.

DIVES, Lewis, Stoney Stratford, to Prince Rupert, October 28, 7. A.M.—his men are drawn up, waiting Prince Rupert's commands, and "till daylight coming, will discover what the enemy doth."

DIVES, Lewis, Balesbury, to Prince Rupert, November 28—presents his humble petition that his regiment of foot and his troop of horse may return with Prince Rupert's regiment, "and not remain longer in their bare and necessitous condition."

DIGBY, Lord George, Nottingham, to Prince Rupert, September 10—professions of service, offers, &c.

From —— to ——, no date, September 15—apparently from Prince Rupert's secretary, to Lord ———, asking for 2000*l.* from Parliament, and pleading his good offices with the King for them.

BRISTOL, Lord, to Prince Rupert, (no date) September—that the King grants "the horse," asked for as his Highness's guard.

From ——, Newcastle, to Prince Rupert, October 7—congratulation on victory at .... ?

EDWARDS, Thomas, Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert, February 13—did call together the gentry on Prince Rupert's first letter; thinks Prince Rupert does not know the conditions; the gentry undertook billeting three hundred of Lord Capell's horse for a month, and that being expired, the greater part refused to subscribe farther; so he and some others raised 480*l.* for the payment of officers and troopers, and so continue.

ESSEX, Lewsham, to Colonel Fiennes, March 27 (intercepted)—enjoins punishment of "Bristol traitors."

ESSEX, Tame, to Prince Rupert, June 21—exchange of prisoners.

FAIRFAX, Sir T., Manchester, to Earl of Essex, February 24 (intercepted)—no great return; his chief aim has been to reduce small garrisons in Cheshire; the county

remiss in making levies; Prince Rupert raising forces in Salop; Irish troops landed for him; Sir Thomas must withdraw from these parts and join his horse to his father's foot in Yorkshire.

FALKLAND, Ashby Lichfield, to Prince Rupert, July 10—the Queen *en route* for King's Norton, Worcestershire.

FALKLAND, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, July 22—enclosing information of a trumpeter deserted, who says people wont obey Parliament; arms in Malmesbury.

FANE, Sir F., Doncaster, to Sir C. Lucas, February 12—desiring intelligence and wishing him success.

FANE, Sir F., Doncaster, to Prince Rupert, March—the enemy has quitted Hull after demolishing some part of the works, &c.; the people of Axholme are in great fear; suggests that they be pardoned on laying down their arms.

FINES, John, Cirencester, to Prince Rupert, March 17—gives an account of the strength of the garrison; all mount arms.

FIENNES, Colonel, London, to Sir R. Hopton, August 13—complains that the articles of surrender of Bristol have been infringed; expects "what belongs to honour and justice," "as the faith and honour of the soldiers are the choicest jewels that he carries about him."

FORTH, Brill, to Prince Rupert, Feb. 19—will meet his Royal Highness at Aylesbury.

FROHOCHIE, Hen., Oxford, to Mr. Powell at Mr. Richard Lees, March 4 (private letter)—his master is like to lose all the moneys Edward Powell paid to the Prince, and is sufficiently laughed at by every gentleman that hears of it; Ashburnham will not pay; never had any money of the Prince's.

FYTON, Robert, Wem, to Sir Thomas Eyton, February 28—asks to be exchanged for some other prisoner.

FINES, John, Cirencester, to Prince Rupert, March 22—Sir W. Waller set upon Malmesbury and very hard upon it; sent help, but came two hours too late; fears they will attack us.

FINES, John, Cirencester, to Prince Rupert, March 24—Waller's army left garrison in Malmesbury have had an engagement; Lord Herbert in Gloucester.

FORTTO, Brill, to General M., March 19—will march before light and meet Prince Rupert on Aylesbury field.

GERRARD, General, Brill, to Prince Rupert, February 11—quaint.

GERRARD, General, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, December 3—writes hastily to inform Prince Rupert that rebels, to the number of five hundred, have invested Boli House.

GERRARD, General, Esome, to Prince Rupert, December 13—purposes to intercept "a convoy of ammunition and moneys belonging to the rebels, on its way from Warwick to Gloucester."

GERRARD, General, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, November 20—acknowledges Prince Rupert's favours in recommending him to the command; "wishes that some good occasion might present itself wherein he might be serviceable to Prince Rupert."

GERRARD, General, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, December 21—acquaints Prince Rupert with the insufficiency of the garrison, and with the disaffected state of the citizens, who seem disposed "to go back" of their promise of 2000*l.* to the King.

GERRARD, General, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, January 29—Shrewsbury in ill condition through effects of blow received by Lord Byron; asks for engines, as their town is ill fortified.

GERRARD, General, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, February 22—sends the names of some persons able to lend Prince Rupert moneys.

GERRARD, General, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, February 28—accounts for backwardness in sending Prince Rupert the required contributions, because the Commissioners must have it "after their wills."

GERRARD, General, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, March, 11—desires to know what course he is to pursue towards those who refuse to pay the contributions.

GORING, General, York, to Prince Rupert, April 18—expression of affection, and desire to serve Prince Rupert.

GORING, General, York, to Prince Rupert, April 22—states that things are looking well; two thousand six hundred men.

GORING, General, York, to Lord Digby, April 22—the Queen with them at York, very "hearty."

GORING, General, York, to Mr. H. Percy, April 22—"to sweep away the rubbish (rebels) that obstruct."

GRANDISON, General, York, to Prince Rupert, July 17—suggests attack of Gloucester, by boats, from Worcestershire.

GRANDISON, General, Cirencester, to the King, March 23—had drawn out his army to meet the rebels, who "looked on and retired;" despairs not on the morrow to meet and vex the enemy."

GRANT, W., Pendennis, in Cornwall, to Prince Rupert, October 21—has sent a good quantity of ammunition towards Bristol, for his Majesty's service; has a suit to Prince Rupert, that he will, on opportunity, exchange a kinsman of his, lieutenant in Lord Northampton's regiment, made prisoner at Newbury, "and now confined in Windsor Castle."

HAMILTON, Duke of, Pershore, to Prince Rupert, January 1—reports himself arrived here.

HAMILTON, Duke of, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, February 5—will complete two regiments; asks saddles, pistols, &c.

HAMILTON, Duke of, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, February 6—asks leave to appoint garrison to Tewkesbury; surrendered.

HASTINGS, A., Ashby-de-la-Zouch, to Prince Rupert, January 17—asks for troops to relieve Leicester, threatened by Lord Grey.

HASTINGS, H., Ashby-de-la-Zouch, to Prince Rupert, February 9—congratulates (Cirencester); rebels threaten Stafford.

HASTINGS, H., Ashby-de-la-Zouch, to Prince Rupert, (no date, Monday)—Lord Grey "drawing the water" hereabout; few with him in fear of his Royal Highness's approach; would run away on the first noise of his coming across them.

HASTINGS, H., Ashby-de-la-Zouch, to Prince Rupert, May 29—asks for Lord Northampton's (Newark).

HASTINGS, H., Tamworth, to Prince Rupert, Saturday—has sent for "some" (perhaps miners) such as Prince Rupert wished, of the most skilful he could get and could procure one hundred more; will be within one mile of Lichfield by 10 A.M. on the morrow.

HASTINGS, H., Lichfield, to Prince Rupert, August 22—will not fail to send the waggons; states the amount of Cromwell's forces and their movements.

HASTINGS, H., Tutbury Castle, to Prince Rupert, September 7—reports movements of enemy's forces.

HASTINGS, H., Tutbury Castle, to Prince Rupert, Sunday—gives an account of the recapture of Tutbury Castle by the rebels.

HASTINGS, H., Ashby-Loughborough, to Prince Rupert, October 28—wishes to manifest his "hearty desires to obey and serve Prince Rupert, by giving intelligence of whatever comes to his knowledge."

HAWLEY, Sir F., Bristol, to Prince Rupert, December 14, the enemy, in great numbers, have fallen upon Lyme and Taunton, and driven out the garrisons; Sir F. Hawley entreats Prince Rupert to appoint him commander to all the horse and foot in Somersetshire, "to avoid confusion."

HEATH, R., to Prince Rupert, (no date) January 15 or 11—complains that Mr. Curzon took two horses.

HERBERT, Lord, Ragland Castle, to Lord Glamorgan, February 7—about to enter "the forest" and master "the Severn."

HERBERT, Lord, Worcester, to Lord Glamorgan, July 21—Cheshire and Lancashire remain firm to royalty.

HERBERT, Edw., Ragland Castle, to Lord Glamorgan, July 25—suggests that ships be sent to reduce Milford Haven, which, "dissenting from all Wales besides, only remains refractory;" offers forest miners to undermine Bristol Castle if required.

HERBERT, Edw., Ragland Castle, to Lord Glamorgan, July 29—asks warrant for arms, and reparation for property taken away by Waller's soldiers.

HERBERT, Edw., Worcester, to Prince Rupert, October 2—reasons for Glamorgan's going to Tewkesbury.

HERBERT, Edw., Montgomery Castle, to Prince Rupert, February 27—requests either to be left "to the defence of his own castle," or, if Prince Rupert will have a garrison there, that he may be quartered in the town of Montgomery.

HERBERT, Edw., Ludlow, to Prince Rupert, February 28—excuses himself for not attending on Prince Rupert until Friday or Saturday.

HERBERT, Edw., Montgomery, to Prince Rupert, March 17—details the necessitous state of his affairs and of his men; reminds Prince Rupert about his commission for the governorship of Montgomery Castle.

HERBERT, Edw., Malmesbury, to Prince Rupert, March 26—petitions for an independent command, ammunition, &c.

HERTFORD, Marquis of, Keynsham, to Prince Rupert, July 21—expect Rupert at Bristol.

HOPTON, Lord, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, (no date)—complains of want of powder (Oxford mills seem to have been destroyed), of money, and Colonel Long levying in *his* quarters.

HOPTON, Lord, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, August 15—advertises the arrival of a store frigate by his procurement.

HOPTON, Lord, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, August 21—encloses Colonel Fienne's letter; has examined into complaint; asks for arms.

HOPTON, Lord, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, September 1—is repairing the works very slowly for want of means; asks arms.

HOPTON, Lord, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, September 6—repeats substance of his former letter, which, for his own safety, the servant "was forced to cast away."

HOPTON, Lord, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, September 7—asks for the assistance of a lieutenant-governor; recommends Sir. F. Hawley for that post; has received reinforcements of horse and foot, "but, for arming and paying, they are out of his reach."

HOPTON, Lord, Sudbury, to Prince Rupert, October 3—on his way to the relief of Berkeley Castle, but heard, *en route*, of enemy's retreat.

HOPTON, Lord, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, October 25—reports the disaffected state of the country, and measures adopted to separate the rebel's army.

HOPTON, Lord, Winchester, to the King, November 8—informs his Majesty of Essex's whispered designs; of his having conveyed men and ammunition into Aylesbury.

HOPTON, Lord, Alresford, to Prince Rupert, December 22—requests that Prince Rupert will send some other good regiments "in place of those which he resumes."

HYDE, Sir E., to Lord Falkland, October 29—suggesting that Hampden and Goodwyn be arrested.

HYNES, H., Banbury, to Prince Rupert, March 13—apologises to Prince Rupert for saving Lord Northampton's tenants from being plundered in Lord Northampton's absence.

HINES, John, Cirencester, to Prince Rupert, March 17—a regiment of men he has not armed.

HINES, John, Cirencester, to Prince Rupert, March 22—Malmesbury taken by the rebels.

HINES, John, Cirencester, to Prince Rupert, March 24—Waller is *en route* from Malmesbury.

HINES, John, Farringdon, to Prince Rupert, April 25—has opened Prince Rupert's letter to Lord Crauford.

HINES, John, Leachland (Wiltshire), to Prince Rupert, May 30—one of the hundreds assigned him is under contribution to the Government; asks for a warrant to levy there also some additional troops, for they are in arrears with men and officers; Waller is gone for Worcester.

HINES, John, Shartrall, to Prince Rupert, January 12—protests that the late misfortune befallen his regiment was no fault of his; refers to the testimony of eye-witnesses.

JERMYN, H. Oxford, to Prince Rupert, February 11—gains a favourable report of affairs in his quarters; some little quantities of arms have arrived from France; "a little blow given in Dorsetshire to Colonel Wyndham's regiment."

JERMYN, H. Oxford, to Prince Rupert, February 15—concerning a demand for Messrs. Fowler and Offley to go and come from Westminster with propositions for peace; desires to be informed of Prince Rupert's march northward, in order to provide him with arms and ammunition.

JERMYN, H. Oxford, to Prince Rupert, February 22—Lord Manchester marched strong to Northampton; Lord Newcastle desires assistance; Sir W. Vavasour here on a question between him and the gentry of Gloucester.

JERMYN, H. Oxford, to Prince Rupert, February 23—Lord Essex's answer to be considered on the morrow.

JERMYN, H. Oxford, to Prince Rupert, February 26—by his Majesty's desire, gives account of affairs in the North; King's party beaten in Yorkshire; Newark and Belvoir in some measure distressed.

JERMYN, H. Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 16—letter marked as Prince Rupert suggests; caused supplies of ammunition to be sent to Dudley Castle for his Royal Highness's service; his Majesty thinks Lord Newcastle must fight the Scots, and prevent their advance into Yorkshire.

JERMYN, H. Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 15—the Commissioners have voted six thousand men to be raised in the counties under Prince Rupert's command; Waller at Lichfield in expectation "of slipping down to the West."

JERMYN, H., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 24—excuses the slackness of sending stores for Prince Rupert's forces; Irish agents arrived, but nothing yet known "of what is like to be done."

JERMYN, H., Exeter, to Prince Maurice—letter in cypher; believes Essex intends to set down before this place; "it can hold out six weeks or two months, and then be taken if not relieved."

JEUFFE, Lord, Dublin, to Prince Rupert, October 16—this kingdom in a likely way for peace; no fear of breach, except from the Scots, "from whom we cannot be secure without we have liberty to destroy them;" "if they were provided with shipinge," could furnish his Royal Highness with as many Irish, well armed, as Prince Rupert pleases."

KIRKE, L., Bridgenorth, to Prince Rupert, March 10—proposes to stop the cattle which at this season are driven out of the town into Staffordshire; waits Prince Rupert's further commands.

LONDISDALE, Edward, Banbury, to the Earl of Northampton, October 24—an express from a gentleman of quality, signifying that five columns of horse had marched out of Warwick, that their troops were then rendezvoused at Hill Morton.

LEVESON, Y., Dudley Castle, to the King, February 8—according to his Majesty's command, had raised the country; the poorer sort came in freely, but being unable to buy arms, required a second appearance of better condition; these were prevented by warrants from Loughborough and Colonel Bagot, besides those of the rebels from Stafford and other places.

LEWESFORD, H., Malmesbury, to Prince Rupert, March 15—asks for cannon.

LOUGHBOROUGH, Lord, Ashby, to Prince Rupert, March 9—reiterates former complaints of Colonel Leveson; "if his Majesty does him not right in punishing him according to merit, Lord Loughborough is the unhappiest of any;" explains his position; "if by neglect or cowardice his Majesty's greatness suffered by him, his head, not his reputation only deserved to suffer.

LOUGHBOROUGH, Lord, (perhaps) Belvoir, to Prince Rupert, (no date)—invites Prince Rupert to take Leicester and Derby, which are ill defended; offers to assist with one thousand horse and one thousand foot, and asks for one thousand muskets.

LOUGHBOROUGH, Lord, Belvoir, to Prince Rupert, (no date)—Lord Derby's forces expected at Leicester; Cromwell to come thither suddenly; Manchester at Huntingdon; commissioners of Lincoln and Nottingham to prepare for an assault.

LOUGHBOROUGH, Lord, Belvoir, to Prince Rupert, November 29—reports an advantage gained by his Belvoir horse over Fairfax; asks leave for Marquis of Ormond to bring over his company from Ireland, and to furnish serjeants and corporals for the troops he desires to raise.

MASSEY, E., Gloucester, to Colonel Fiennes, February 11—threatened by the Welch, and Sir W. Russell's mob.

MAURICE, Prince, Gloucester, to Colonel Fiennes, July 20—concerning attack on Bristol.

MAXWELL, George, Berkeley Castle, to Prince Rupert, September 8—since the siege of Gloucester raised, the people here have so increased their former baseness, that he cannot get the castle victualled; so little trust in them, that though "he should have enough to raise a troop of horse, he should almost fear to have his throat cut."

MENNES, John, Berkeley Castle, to Prince Rupert, February 2—the commissioners consider the change more than the convenience, and the garrison is ready to disband for want of pay and provision; pray to be delivered from the power of commissioners; had rather be sent home from constable to constable.

MENNES, John, Berkeley Castle, to Prince Rupert, February 9—all are armed with patience until Prince Rupert's arrival; went to Oswestrie to meet a troop sent him by Lord Byron, which were claimed by commissioners of array.

MENNES, John, Salop, to Prince Rupert, February 10—Lord Byron about to send hither seventeen hundred foot (under Tillier and Broughton), just landed from Ireland: he will do his best in finding them provisions, but has no money; asks Prince Rupert to command the sheriff to provide them shoes and hose.

MENNES, John, Elmere, to Prince Rupert, March 30—Lord Byron has taken four outgarrisons of the enemy in Flintshire. Some divisions in the army as to the chief command.

MENNES, John, to Prince Rupert (no date)—no sooner was Prince Rupert gone, than the rebels began to swarm; took Wellington Castle, which was wrenched from them soon after, and they themselves defeated by Sir W. Vaughton and Colonel Ellis.

MOODY, George, Bury, to his brother, October 10—sends him 100*l.*, and promises more; desires him to borrow some from the drapers at Boston, which his father will repay; will send a horse for his lieutenant.

MORTON, William, Winchcombe, to his brother, August 3—concerning the presumed desertion of some officers and men; most of the blue coats run away; is very confident that Gloucester will yield if it is demanded, for the deserters say "that the town soldiers are resolved not to strike a stroke against the King."

NEILLE, D., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 6—congratulates on victory.

NEILLE, D., Abingdon, to Prince Rupert, December 19—complains of troopers, who live at free quarters, and plead Prince Maurice's permission.

NEILLE, D., Abingdon, to Prince Rupert, December 25—complaining of Colonel Blagge's dragoons.

NEWCASTLE, to Prince Rupert, October 7—congratulation on victory.

NEWCASTLE, to Prince Rupert—congratulates for victory.

NEWCASTLE, Chesterfield, to Prince Rupert, December 10—army threatened on all sides, so that if Prince Rupert cannot take Lancashire off his hands, he doubts it will be too late to hinder the great army of rebels coming from Scotland; five thousand are going to Hull to entertain the Duke of Newcastle there.

NEWCASTLE, Pomfret, to Prince Rupert, January 16—Prince Rupert has been told he has great force, which is not true; Scots advanced as far as Morpeth, fourteen thousand, as report goes.

NEWCASTLE, Pomfret, to Prince Rupert, January 21—excuses himself from obeying orders to act, his troops being disorganized.

NEWCASTLE, Newcastle, to Prince Rupert, February 4—"Scots before the town with a very great army; his own not half that which was here when the town was rendered," yet he holds the town; leaves particulars to the brave Sir William Balendine.

NEWCASTLE to the King, Feb. 13—marched his army from Yorkshire in the thaw and floods to Newcastle, the night before the Scots attacked it; the town's soldiers very faithful, and drove them a mile from the town, where they remain raising the whole country; fourteen hundred foot and two thousand horse to be joined by Fairfax, whilst the Royal army cannot possibly bring into the field more than five thousand foot and three thousand horse, and want arms and ammunition.

NEWCASTLE to Lord Digby, February 16—has signed a subscription, subscribed by divers of the nobility of the kingdom; by means of a pass had forwarded it into Scotland, and so his lordship's order therein shall be observed without delay; account of his position (as above).

NEWCASTLE to the King, February 16—urges his Majesty to send more forces to beat the Scots, by which "his game will be absolutely won;" "if his Majesty think fit, they should be followed, while truly he thinks his Majesty's crowns are hazarded;" Sir Thomas Fairfax very strong in the West Riding; his father master of the East Riding.

NEWCASTLE, Lincoln, to Prince Rupert, August 7—congratulates on victories, "which, as they are too big for anybody else, so they appear too little for his Royal Highness."

NEWCASTLE, Beverly, to Prince Rupert, August 29—Prince Rupert will not allow himself to be told of his victories, but the world will "derive it to posterity to his Royal Highness's everlasting fame."

NEWCASTLE, Cottingham, to Mr. Hastings, September 18—Lord Willoughby and Cromwell got abroad in great numbers, taking advantage of the army's engagement elsewhere; proposes to Mr. Hastings to meet them with all the horse and foot he can spare, and join Sir T. Henderson.

NEWCASTLE, Cottingham, to Prince Rupert, October 3—wishes Prince Rupert joy of his late great victory, "which he is confident the rebels will never recover, so that one may salute the King *King* again, and only by his Royal Highness's hand."

NORTHAMPTON, Banbury, to Prince Rupert, December 13—enemy threatens; to some lord for assistance.

NORTHAMPTON, Banbury, to the King, December 20—the rebels with three thousand horse, and peasants with pitchforks are coming.

NORTHAMPTON, Dedington, to Prince Rupert, December 22—pursued by the enemy; sends Colonel Wentworth for orders to the Prince.

NORTHAMPTON, Banbury, to Prince Rupert, December 26—asks for force to prevent the rebels reassembling.

NORTHAMPTON, Banbury, to Prince Rupert, December 28—asks for three hundred dragoons to repel forties and fifties of rebels, and to inspirit the country.

NORTHAMPTON, Banbury, to Prince Rupert, January 4—asking to succeed to the command upon his father's death.

NORTHAMPTON, Banbury, to Prince Rupert, January 4—arrests Colonel Wagstaff; Lord Grey threatens Banbury with troops.

NORTHAMPTON, Banbury, to Sir J. Astley, February 28—Lord Brooke on his march to Stafford.

NORTHAMPTON, Banbury, to the King's Secretary, March 2—Lord Chesterfield besieged; Warwick Castle weak.

NORTHAMPTON, Ragland, to Prince Rupert, March 7—professes readiness to send troops to Prince Rupert.

NEWPORT, Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert, February 2—sheriff has given notice that a great magazine of powder is coming to the town, and that Prince Rupert intends to make it his residence; makes known to Prince Rupert that there is no magazine of victuals, and therefore Prince Rupert should not venture his person and army till one is provided.

NEWPORT, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 2—occurrences from the north; Scots defeated by Sir R. Langsdent; retreated to Alnwick; Irish landed for the King; Essex come with five thousand to Warwick.

NEWPORT, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 2—transcript of a letter from Essex to Lord Forth concerning Sir R. Crooke having escaped undressed on horseback and Sir F. Norrys taken out of his house, both their houses being near Reading.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, 10 P. M. to Prince Rupert (no date)—his Majesty gives way concerning the marching of the army, which he thought should not move till they knew certainly where the Queen was; waits till Prince Rupert sends him word.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, to Prince Rupert, October 16—money comes slowly to Parliament; said to be wrangling amongst themselves. Essex has marched from Windsor; supposed to be falling on Brill; Prince Maurice about Upton, and Waller said to be within half a mile.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 4—King negotiates for a cessation with Parliament, which grants four more days, during which there is to be no plundering on either side; the King forbears to agree to any cessation north of the Trent till he hears from the Earl of Newcastle the state of his army; seven more days of cessation.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 6—threats that Essex comes with all his forces from Windsor, Oakingham, &c., Lord Grey from St. Albans with those of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and Cromwell with those of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, Waller from Gloucester; but Prince Maurice at Tewkesbury keeps them in check.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 10—the treaty goes on here, but it is apparent "the omnipotent powers" have no desire to peace as yet; if the King consent not to the two propositions, the Commissioners return to London, and "he believes that, till they are gone, Essex will not come this way."

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 11—Essex cannot stir from Windsor till his troops have pay; Maurice waits at Tewkesbury to meet Waller in crossing the Severn; treaty goes on; nothing will content the Parliament but their own demands; thinks it must come to nought; it is said that the two Houses have desired Essex to deliver up his commission, and that they will make Hampden their general.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 20 (partly cipher)—urges Prince Rupert coming without delay; "it would be better the county of Stafford were lost than the town of Reading;" the governor, Sir A. Aston, disabled by an accident; rebels much encouraged thereby; almost environed by twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 21—reiterates arguments for dispatch; "it is the opinion here that if Prince Rupert come not, Reading is lost;" Aston past hope of life.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 23 (the King's own cipher)—the King himself goes to Wallingford, where all his forces are to meet him to relieve Reading; the rebels repulsed the King's forces the last night; the town can-

not hold out without succour beyond to-morrow; if the rebels get Reading on any terms, they will grow very insolent in London; if they fail, they will give ear to a just and equal accommodation.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 24 (the King's own cipher)—recommends vigilance, for the rebels are in strong parties dispersed in all parts; they have taken up a quarter of his Majesty's at Dorchester, and cut in pieces a regiment and divers foot belonging to the Life Guard.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to the King, April 26 (the King's own cipher)—has warned Northampton to be very vigilant of Waller's movements, who generally marches by night; ammunition come to Newark for his Majesty; gives his opinion against his Majesty drawing off his forces from before Reading.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to the King, April 28 (the King's own cipher)—the Commissioners have sent forces to defend Brill; the King of France *not* dead, though not thought likely to recover, and has received extreme unction.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, to Prince Rupert, May 11—will communicate all he knows to Prince Rupert, but, not being one of the close committee at Court, was never thought worthy to be trusted with the affairs of the West, where Bamfield is to attend Prince Rupert; disorders and jealousies amongst the officers.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, to Prince Rupert, May 17—some gentleman, writing from London, thinks it would not be very difficult to intercept Essex on his way from London to Reading.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, to Prince Rupert, May 12—money very hard to be got in London for rebel army, notwithstanding their great boast of the taking of Reading; King ordered Prince Maurice to pursue Waller wheresoever he goeth.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, to Prince Rupert, July 8—letters from the Queen confirm good news from the North of Fairfax, father and son, being beaten, the latter valiantly leaving his wife to be taken; the Queen, on her progress South, took Burton-upon-Trent by assault: postscript in his Majesty's autograph.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, to Prince Rupert (same date)—long postscript from the King; Essex goes to Brackley, therefore his Majesty is confident the best way for his wife will be Worcester, otherwise it will be impossible for her forces to eschew fighting, and that before his Majesty can come up.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, July 11—Prince Maurice and Marquis of Hertford are at Devizes in very good heart, wanting only arms and ammunition; the Queen to bring all Lord Capell's, Colonels Cavendish and Hastings', and the rest of the horse and foot.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, July 25—rebels beaten from before Tutbury; Essex within two miles of Aylesbury; Waller gone to London; "they raise men apace for him."

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, (same date)—Waller at Warwick; in his passage thither beaten by Sir W. Russell; rebels stolen away from Chester with loss.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, to the King, August 8—sends Captain Molineux to his Majesty; he is an intimate friend of Massey, Governor of Gloucester, whose affections are with his Majesty, and not having served, "but that he was refused the employment he desired, if Captain Molineux sees him, to persuade him to render himself and Gloucester to his Majesty's hands.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, October 30 (mostly in cipher)—six hundred musketeers are sent from Brill to Prince Rupert, and 50*l.* worth of bread ordered; in future, provisions should be taken from Buckingham or Bicester on account of the distance.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, October 15—rebel forces lately come to Bedford, others to Newport Pagnell; certain that Waller hath delivered up his commission; that Waller's officers and soldiers are much disgusted, and some refuse to march with Essex.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, October 27—Prince Rupert to decide a question of precedency between Colonels Gerrard and Bellasis.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, October 28—Essex has come to Hitchin; supposed that he draws to join the Earl of Manchester before approaching Newport; the King offers Prince Rupert more forces.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, to Prince Rupert, Oxford, October 31—his Majesty desires Prince Rupert to have one Tapper apprehended, and punished by martial or common law; under pretence of being a soldier (which he is not), he robs all men.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, November 1—50*l.* worth more bread ordered to Prince Rupert, which he is to send carts for; the provisions to be out of the pay.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, November 3—Waller draws off his forces from Basing House to Basingstoke; sent for scaling-ladders.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, November 5—more provisions ordered for Prince Rupert's army; Essex goes to St. Albans for winter quarters.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, November 6—Waller gives out he intends to attempt Worcester; Lord Hopton at Andover; Prince Maurice recovered, not strong; report that the King's forces have driven rebels from Newark.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, November 7 and 8—concerning assigning regiments; the five hundred cattle taken by Prince Rupert to be sold at Oxon, and the money sent back to be distributed by Prince Rupert.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, November 12—intelligence in cipher.

NICHOLAS, Sir Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, November 16—Lord Capell advertises that the rebels have taken Holt, by which Chester is sore straitened; that Lord Biron must hasten away, for then Sir A. Aston will be sent to take his place with Prince Rupert.

NORTHAMPTON, Banbury, to Prince Rupert, May 2—advertisements from London, whereby it appears Essex is not well pleased, nor in a good condition.

NORTHAMPTON, Banbury, to Prince Rupert, May 2—great complaints of Sir Henry Huncks, the governor, on suspicion of his corresponding with the rebels; sends him to render an account to his Royal Highness.

NORTHAMPTON, Banbury, to Prince Rupert, May 8—Captain Hopton, of Colonel Croker's regiment, tore a warrant of his brother's, and said he would receive orders only from his colonel; Croker also threatens to drive away the cattle of his tenants if they do not pay 47*l.* and strives to prejudice him (Northampton) in every way.

NORTHAMPTON, Banbury, to Prince Rupert, December 19 and 23—on the same subject; prays for a protection under Prince Rupert's hand for his tenants in the constabulary of Braiks and the town of Long Compton; will, according to Prince Rupert's commands, march on the morrow by daybreak to the relief of Graston.

NORTHAMPTON, Shillington near Wolverhampton, to Prince Rupert, March 27—rebels now separated, some to Nantwich, others to Derby, therefore the less necessity for Prince Rupert's presence in these parts, where provisions are all spent.

O'NEILLE, Dan, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, February 13—waiting for ammunition from Ireland for Prince Rupert; complains of Prince Rupert taking his troops with him; if his Royal Highness does him not the favour to send it back, he must sell his horse to buy the others meat.

O'NEILLE, Dan, Ragland Castle, to Prince Rupert, February 20—has sent two hundred horse-mails for the Irish Commissioners.

OTTLEY, Sir Francis, Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert, January 31—prepares for his Royal Highness's coming, "whereof the country is heartily glad."

OTTLEY, Sir Francis, Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert, February 2—with the advice of the Commissioners and town authorities, has provided a temporary magazine, "till the castle be repaired; some have been executed for being concerned in the plot of the rebels against the town."

OTTLEY, Sir Francis, Shrewsbury, February 12—a townsman that was condemned had escaped to the rebels at Wem; the Provost-Marshal in prison; council of war hold him guilty of Article III; that there are troops at Longford in expectation of Prince Rupert's march from Worcester.

PORTER, George, York, to Prince Rupert, December 20,—excuses himself of having merited "the frown which Prince Rupert was pleased to put upon him at his coming away."

PYM, John, Westminster, to Sir W. Waller, March 14 (intercepted)—articles of peace uncertain.

ROBINSON, T., Savoy, London, to his father, January 15—very witty private letter, concerning parliamentary proceedings.

RUDGEWAY, W., Chester, to Lord Capell, April 14—has sent ammunition to Prince Rupert, and writes express to announce.

RUSSELL, John, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, December 22—hears of the death of Captain Ventris, and concerning the consequent promotion.

RUSSELL, Sir W., Worcester, to Prince Rupert, July 19—Waller come with all his force to Gloucester; on his way took men from their houses, "and forced them to come

with him," and drives men from their homes lest he should compel them; asks that Prince Rupert will send a convoy to Tewkesbury to meet the cannon and boats.

Russell, Sir W., Tewkesbury, to Prince Rupert, August 8—come hither to attend Prince Rupert; it is "imputed to him as a fault that he hath left Worcester, now it is like to be in danger;" beseeches Prince Rupert's orders whether he shall stay or return to that part.

Russell, Sir W., Worcester, to Prince Rupert, February 1—pleads that the city is hard pressed.

Sackville, Thomas, Bybury, to Prince Rupert, January 6—excuses himself from service, being sick; sends his sons instead.

Sheddencourt, Michael, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, February 18—concerning the taffety for the colours which has been in the town this month, but Captain Deane, in whose custody it is, will not distribute without ready money; prays his Royal Highness to give orders for them, as "it will give some content to the soldiers, though they have no clothes."

Slaughter, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, July 31—writes by Sir W. Vavasour's desire to state the remissness of the country under his command; without Lord Herbert's assistance from his private purse, he could never have seated himself in the city of Hereford.

Smith, Christopher, Cheerington, to Mr. Spencer Lucy, May 15—concerning "a difference between Colonel Croker and our town."

Sudford, Thomas, "My garrison in Bristol Castle," to Prince Rupert, November 30—"is zealous in desire to wait on Prince Rupert;" not advance of title he covets, but his Royal Highness's commission to reduce him to his old duty.

Tracy, John, Taddington, to Prince Rupert, July 10—gives notice that Waller has marched by Evesham with seventeen colours of horse towards Warwick.

Trevor, Arthur, Taddington, to Prince Rupert, February 16—Lord Jermyn very active in Prince Rupert's service, and hopes shortly to have a present from himself to Prince Rupert; two hundred barrels of powder, five hundred muskets, three hundred pair of pistols.

Tracy, Sir H., Oxon, to Prince Rupert, February 19—Barnstaple, which submitted to Prince Maurice, and by his mediation received his Majesty's pardon, is now up in arms for Parliament, as is conceived "by that son of perdition, Perd the Recorder."

Tracy, Sir H., Oxon, to Prince Rupert, February 22—200*l.* payable by the county of Denbigh, to be assigned to Captain Wake, lying at Beaumaris, where his men are in a high state of mutiny for want of pay; apologies for intermeddling within his Royal Highness's charge.

Tracy, Sir H., Oxon, to Prince Rupert, February 23—clothing for his Royal Highness's servants and pages, to be ready at Oxon; asks his pleasure; merchants solicitous for payment, if Prince Rupert will not have his Majesty moved in it; Lord Jermyn and A. T. will pay all the sum down—200*l.*

Tracy, Sir H., Oxon, to Prince Rupert, February 24—Lord Newport is come; Lord Percy cries out for his waggons, which Prince Rupert has.

Tracy, Sir H., Oxon, to Prince Rupert, February 28—The King, on hearing of Prince Rupert's want of arms and ammunition, "after a deep sigh, said, 'This will be more terrible to me than the parting of flesh and bones;'" Lord Jermyn hopes to secure to Prince Rupert a good portion of that which has arrived at Dartmouth from Leeds, till Prince Rupert's affairs of peace and war are settled to his desires, A. T. will not cease to urge his Majesty; an interview every morning in the garden.

Tracy, Sir H., Oxon, to Prince Rupert, March—amusing account of presenting Prince Rupert's letters to M. de Lablache; fears no men will fall to Prince Rupert from Ireland; the Commons engaged in reforming the army; twelve thousand foot fixed for his Majesty's quarters, besides garrisons, and he presumes the proportion of four thousand horse.

Tracy, Sir H., to Prince Rupert (no date)—Commons very hot on Lord Percy; King's horse in Lord Wilmot's hands; King is in all things Prince Rupert's advocate, and lets nothing pass within his Royal Highness's circuit without special reference to him.

Tracy, Sir H., Oxon, to Prince Rupert, March 8—Prince Rupert's health and the growth of his army so much the expectation of this place, that they reckon it as the great reserve, or as Goliah's sword behind the door; supposed that Essex's design is for Basing house, whilst Waller slips into Kent.

TRACY, Sir H., Oxon, to Prince Rupert, March 5—concerning commissions granted for levies in Worcestershire; Prince Rupert passionately troubled lest Commissioners be sent into his jurisdiction inconsistent with his.

TRACY, Sir H., Oxon, to Prince Rupert, March 7—enclosing papers from the Lord Treasurer; Newark besieged with eight thousand foot; King pressed to send Prince Rupert to its relief.

TRACY, Sir H., Oxon, to Prince Rupert, March 24—"all things pass for Lord Hopton, and nothing for Prince Rupert; and yet they expect Prince Rupert's powers equal, if not exceed, his lordship's when they come to shew hands; is in despair for money unless some notable success open the purse-strings;" congratulates on great victory; "his Royal Highness absolutely the favourite at Court."

TRACY, Sir H., Oxon, to William Legge, April (no date)—sends ammunition; Tewkes bury retaken by rebels; one hundred slain, most in their beds; "so ever fatal hath security and love of clean sheets been to the King's army."

VAVASOUR, Sir William, Presteigne, to Prince Rupert, July 26—had been lost in the opinion of the country, unless he had made an attempt on Brampton Castle; Sir Robert Herlock's house; asks Prince Rupert to give him three or four warnings before his command to his rendezvous.

VAVASOUR, Sir William, Hereford, to Prince Rupert, July 30—large promises from the gentry of these parts, though their performance for the present has been very little; Lord Herbert would supply funds, but moneys fail him; beseeches Prince Rupert to spare what ammunition he conveniently can.

VAVASOUR, Sir William, Monmouth, to Prince Rupert, August 4—hopes to be master of Brampton Castle before he marches to Prince Rupert; has had much assistance from Colonel Price and Sir Walter Pye; little from the associated counties.

VAVASOUR, Sir William, Brampton Castle, to Prince Rupert, August 6—intends to leave sufficient force before the castle if it still holds out, and to be within a day's march of Gloucester by the 7th, with one thousand two hundred men, three hundred horse, and sixty fine men; recommends Sir John Winter to his Royal Highness's favour.

VAVASOUR, Sir William, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, December 4—alludes to some supposed plot against Prince Rupert; intends, this winter, to block up Gloucester, and present his Royal Highness a handsome army by the spring.

VAVASOUR, Sir William, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, December 9—his designs frustrated by having the means withdrawn, "the King being made to believe that twelve hundred foot and three hundred and twenty horse will do it."

VAVASOUR, Sir William, Tewkesbury, to Prince Rupert, January 6, 1643-4—not so strong in the town as he presumes is expected, as Lord Herbert will not allow his regiment to join him; the rebels approach as far as Clemden.

VAVASOUR, Sir William, Tewkesbury, to Prince Rupert, January 7, 4 A.M.—rebels advance with their convoy, which way not known; proposes that Prince Rupert send some forces to assist in forcing them to retire.

VAVASOUR, Sir William, Tewkesbury, to Prince Rupert, Jan. 31—has called upon Sir W. Tracy concerning the chief command; advised him to press his Royal Highness to accept it and choose his own deputy; prays Prince Rupert to order that his garrison at Berkeley Castle should not take contribution out of other parts of the county.

VAVASOUR, Sir William, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, February 6—has given the rebels a little blow at Painswick; killed above one hundred on the place; took two lieutenants and twenty-eight soldiers; and only lost one man.

VAVASOUR, Worcester, to Prince Rupert—sends his Lieutenant-Colonel (Price) to acquaint Prince Rupert that he has despatched a strong regiment to ensafe the garrison at Evesham and places adjacent; himself is upon his march into the forest.

VAVASOUR, Sir William, Newent, to Prince Rupert, February 17—has freed the Forest of Dean, so that the rebels have not one garrison left in it; and has fortified the houses; hears that the enemy advances towards Gloucester.

VAVASOUR, Worcester, to Prince Rupert—fears that his hopeful designs will be ruined through the uncertainties at Court; more zealously inclined to serve Prince Rupert, because some at Court seek to ruin its offices; talk of hindering his Royal Highness from the Presidency of Wales.

WENTWORTH, Lord Thomas, Buckingham, to Prince Rupert, May 15—his men not very governable; fall extremely to the old kind of plundering; Sir J. Byron and himself have taken a few sheep and cattle from a knight notoriously ill-affected towards his Majesty; shall do the like with other such, but not so ill-natured as to do it in other cases.

WENTWORTH, Lord Thomas, Buckingham, to Prince Rupert, May 16—reports proceedings at the village of Horwood; compounded with the people not to plunder, for 100*l.*; at Swinburne the people got up into the church in arms; after three messages, inviting to come and lay down arms, fired the village and forced them out.

WENTWORTH, Lord Thomas, Brackley, to Prince Rupert, November 2—sends a letter from his father, offering service; would have presented it himself, but received orders to march with Lord Wilmot.

WHYTE, Andrew, Limerick, to Ingnatius Whyte, March 25—Du Blanch sends France nine hundred soldiers; Ignatius is to go to Paris till he hears of their arrival; (secret instructions.)

WIDDINGTON, William, Gainsborough, to Prince Rupert, September 24—marches towards Sir J. Henderson with twenty troop of horse.

R. W. (a prisoner), Windsor Castle, to Prince Rupert, September 12—chief design of the rebels to stop the clamour of the hungry soldiers, for which purpose they intend to force 2000*l.* from Reading; warns Prince Rupert of the certain danger, and beseeches him to provide against it; cross them but in this design, and they will disband for want of means.

WILLOUGHBY, Philip, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, May 7—account of Lord Northampton's victory over the rebels, who came towards Banbury from Northampton, killed above a hundred, took three hundred prisoners, with the cannon and ammunition; Lord Northampton lost only three men.

WILMOT, Lord H., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, May 11—Sir Robert Welsh desires to win a fortune in this expedition into the West; waits on Prince Rupert to know his pleasure.

WILMOT, Lord H., Abingdon, to Prince Rupert, December 1, reluctantly obeys route to Wantage.

WILMOT, Lord H., Wantage, to Prince Rupert, December 2—asks artillery.

WILMOT, Lord H., to Prince Rupert, (no date,) January 21, has given orders to Prince Maurice to march to Brackley.

WILMOT, Lord H., Bicester, to Prince Rupert, January 22—acknowledges orders that the foot shall take what horse, or where, they can get.

WILMOT, Lord H., Bletchington, to Prince Rupert, June 4—has had a guard all night at Whitby Bridge to observe the enemy.

WILMOT, Lord H, Bletchington, to Prince Rupert, June 6—only intelligence that the enemy lie still, and it is believed will not stir suddenly.

WILMOT, Lord H., Bletchington, to Prince Rupert, June 8—last night the guard were well nigh cut off; asks more troops.

WILMOT, Lord H., Bletchington, to Prince Rupert, June 12—a serjeant at 2 A.M. ventured within one mile of the enemy's quarters at Tame, but saw not so much as a sentry stirring.

WILMOT, Lord H., Bletchington, to Prince Rupert, August 3—Essex last night at Chiltern; his horse at Walton; to-day they rendezvous at Bicester.

WILMOT, Lord H., Bicester, to Prince Rupert, October 29—according to his Royal Highness's commands, has quartered near Brill.

WILMOT, Lord H., Blackthorn Windmill, to Prince Rupert, October 30—is marching to Buckingham; met Colonel Thelwall's force *en route* to Prince Rupert.

WILMOT, Lord H., Buckingham, to Prince Rupert, October 31—has quartered six or seven miles from the town; will take care of the foot.

WILMOT, Lord H., Brackley, to Prince Rupert, November—prays Prince Rupert to take order that their moneys be kept for their own brigade.

WILMOT, Lord H., Woodstock, to Prince Rupert, December 1—enemy has marched out of Bicester, and bend their march towards Gloucester; will not fail to do all he can to trouble their march.

WILMOT, Lord H., Winchester, to Prince Rupert, December 24—the march towards Waller delayed till Wednesday; hopes it may not prove a day after the fair, and that they may not despair of being relieved.

WILMOT, Lord H., Stamford, to Prince Rupert, January 1—news that the castle is lost; wishes Prince Rupert to send for "his old horse and men, or they will be utterly ruined."

WILMOT, Lord H., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, February 22—gives an account left with him by Prince Rupert; has met with great difficulty, but hopes the worst is passed.

WILMOT, Lord H., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 27—congratulates on great victory, which has relieved his quarters, on which the enemy pressed very strong; hoped to recruit Prince Rupert's regiment, but has not received one penny for that purpose.

WILMOT, Lord H., Basingstoke, to Prince Rupert, March 26—the King likes very well his Royal Highness's plans for his journey into the North, and for the disposition of Malmesbury and those parts; leave it to his Royal Highness, only Colonel Bamfield suggests if Prince Rupert thinks him a fit man.

WINCHESTER, Earl of, Basingstoke, to the King, December 2—cannot hold Basingstoke without assistance.

WINTER, Sir John, Chepstow, to Prince Rupert, February 28—mutiny in his army, which disbanded for want of pay.

WOODHOUSE, Michael, Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert, February 9—guards ill kept by the townspeople; has now ordered that thirty of his troops should watch with as many of the townspeople; a court martial condemned the town marshal to suffer death in the place of one who was allowed to escape after being sentenced to be hanged for betraying the place; wait till Prince Rupert's arrival.

WOODHOUSE, Michael, Hopton, to Prince Rupert, March 2—had made an attempt on the castle, and been beaten, with loss of one captain, two soldiers, and sixteen hurt; thinks it connot be taken without cannon.

ASHBURNHAM, John, (West, no date) to Prince Rupert, in his Majesty's cipher;—rebels marched at 3 A.M. from Shaftsbury towards Salisbury; Manchester at Newberry; Sir R. Grenville has beaten the rebels out of Saltash, after returning God thanks for victory; he intends to hang three hundred rebels.

ASTELEY, Jacob, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, August 24—"conveys his never decaying duty and service;" has been a long time blocked up by Waller's forces, who has displeased the brethren in London, and Woodmonger Brown sent to supply his room.

ASTELEY, Jacob, Farringdon, to Prince Rupert, November 25—has been to Crickland, and finds not the place fit to be fortified; hears that Massey is ready to intercept any convoy of money and clothes that might come to them from Bristol.

ASTELEY, Jacob, Farringdon, to Prince Rupert, November 26—if Prince Rupert wishes to fortify some place between Bristol and Oxford, men, money, and horses must be provided, "otherwise to be watchful against an enemy without and within; disorders of soldiers driven to distraction by want, ready to cut his throat; he had rather starve in Oxford.

ASTELEY, Jacob, Cirencester, to Prince Rupert, December 10—came yesterday to this town, which he finds very poor, and the best houses in ruins.

ASTELEY, Jacob, Cirencester, to Prince Rupert, December 17—has great trouble to get in contributions to feed his men, as horse from other parts quarter in the hundreds assigned to him; Massey threatens to attack the town before fortifications are finished; asks for engineer to assist.

ASTELEY, Jacob, Cirencester, to Prince Rupert, December 18—complains of the horse regiments, who are content with nothing allotted them; the soldiers will not work; officers negligent.

ASTELEY, Jacob, Cirencester, to Prince Rupert, December 23—sends a deputation from the chief officers of the garrison, to represent its necessities; "officers for long seen no money, and exceeding poor." Soldiers received only 9*d.* a piece for subsistence in fourteen days; town poorer still.

ASTELEY, Jacob, Cirencester, to Prince Rupert, December 27—sends his son to shew it is impossible for the garrison to subsist ten days; the hundreds assigned lie under Gloucester, and Massey's other garrisons; therefore, he offers to resign his commission to free himself from blame.

ASTELEY, Jacob, to Prince Rupert, January 4—has granted a convoy to Sir H. Bond and Colonel ——, upon Prince Rupert's warrant; fears they will keep them altogether, and his garrison will be totally disabled; officers make long lists of their men; he has never seen three hundred horse together.

BAGOT, Richard, Lichfield, to Prince Rupert, January—acquaints Prince Rupert that Lord Denby is come to Tamworth with fifteen hundred horse and foot, eight pieces, and forty carriages; is waiting there for forces from Leicester; "thinks Prince Rupert might have good sport in beating up his quarters."

BAGOT, Richard, Lichfield, to Prince Rupert, April 7—will make provision according to Prince Rupert's command; asks for two or three days' time to provide the teams, which are very scarce; Colonel Lane has taken forty packs from the rebels, containing good store of powder and match.

BAGOT, Richard, Lichfield, to Lord Loughborough, April 22—Colonel Lane intends to march with thirty horse; Lord Loughborough cannot expect any horse from him; Prince Rupert brings one hundred and fifty "well armed and good men."

BAGOT, Richard, Dudley Castle, to Prince Rupert, November 21—consents to observe a fair correspondence with Colonel Leveson in all things that regard Prince Rupert's service; refers his dispute with him to Prince Rupert.

BELLASYNE, J., York, to Prince Rupert, March 26—reports that Sir T. Fairfax is ready at Bakewell with one thousand horse to fall on the West Riding, and join the rebels at Hull. If Prince Rupert would look that way, he would give them a blow and reputation to their affairs.

BELASYNE, J., York, to General Porter, March 27—confident in General Porter's coming to his assistance; refers to a late loss.

BELLASYNE, J., York, to Prince Rupert, March 29—expresses reluctance to obey Lord Newcastle's orders to march to Durham, with all the forces in the county (except York garrison,) and thus leave it to be overrun by Fairfax and his troops.

BELLENDEN, W., Salop, to Prince Rupert, March 30, 1644—congratulates on victory of Newark; by the advice of some officers has issued only 1*s.* 10*d.* per week for subsistence to each soldier, instead of 3*s.* allowed by Prince Rupert, which is sufficient with the shilling appointed them in money.

BERKLEY, John, Exeter, to Prince Rupert, September 4—is pursuing the rebel army, after five hundred of them laid down their arms, and lost their cannon and ammunition; passed over the ferry at Saltash, and are making for Taunton.

BILLINGSLEY, Francis, Bridgenorth, to Prince Rupert, November 11—the sheriff, commissioners, and justices, have slighted his requisitions for mounting and recruiting the regiments of trained bands for Salop, in consequence the soldiers, wanting pay, have disbanded, to the endangerment of the town, and loss of great part of the county, and the rebels take advantage to lay troops there.

BLAGGE, Thomas, Wallingford, to Prince Rupert, November 2—reports that the rebel army is in two parts, the one besieging Denningford Castle, the other marched towards Reading; they are so strong that preserving his own is the best play for the moment; when Prince Rupert joins, he may beat them all to dirt.

BLAXTON, William, Penelas, Monmouthshire, to Prince Rupert, September 23—asks Prince Rupert to think of some speedy way for the army to pass the river, between Monmouth and Chepstow, so as not to be cut off by Brereton's forces; requests Prince Rupert to command the services of boats, and assign quarters.

BATTELU, Hugh, Hananndonery, to Colonel H. Rise, April 11—the rebels from Pembroke purpose coming to Carmarthen, where the mayor invites the Royalists to take possession; garrison of the rebels in Carew Castle consists chiefly of his brother's men; offer to deliver it up to him.

BAGS, Sir John, Dennington Castle, to William Sec. Nicholas, October 31—Waller and Manchester at Newberry with eight thousand men; "this poor place much neglected;" asks for relief, without which he cannot hold out six days.

BRAINSFORD, Exeter, to Prince Rupert, September 16—entreats Prince Rupert to enforce the payment of 90*l.* being a proportion due to him from the Mayor of Bristol; Prince Rupert's warrant.

BLOUNT, Captain, Marston House, Petworth, to Prince Rupert, December 5—has possessed himself of the house; very well seated, and of much import, but cannot be kept without two hundred more foot.

BLOUNT, Captain, Marston House, Petworth, to Prince Rupert, December 18—the horse that came to assist have left without his orders, not being able to maintain the house has retreated to the church; if Prince Rupert march not that way, or at least stay not thereabouts, he must retreat to Worcester.

BUCKINGHAM, G., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 6, (another: no date.)—letters of apology and compliment.

BYRON, Lord, Glemaire, to Prince Rupert, March 31—success of an expedition into Flintshire, where he reduced several small garrisons between Bangor and Wem, and took some arms and ammunition; asks that some of the arms taken by Prince Rupert may be assigned to Chester.

BYRON, Lord, Chester, to Prince Rupert, April 4—congratulates on happy victory, and expected return safely; a solemn thanksgiving amongst the Roundheads at Nantwich and Middlewich, for a great overthrow his Royal Highness had received, in which his horse was killed and he forced to swim over a great river.

BYRON, Lord, Chester, to Prince Rupert, April 7—urges Prince Rupert's accepting the

presidency of Wales, which he understands means are used underhand to persuade him to decline.

Byron, Lord, Chester, to Prince Rupert, April 7—upon request of the Lancashire gentry, renews request to Prince Rupert to look that way before Lathom be lost; constant intelligence that once his Royal Highness appears, the greatest part of the rebel forces will desert and join with Prince Rupert; enemy agrees to exchange, and those are to be paid for, for whom there is no exchange.

Byron, Lord, Chester, to Prince Rupert, April 8—concerning the assigning quarters to Sir R. Wilmot's regiment, and the allotment of some proportion to Hawkins, the man who makes the muskets and pikes at Wrexham.

Byron, Lord, Chester, to Prince Rupert, April 9—since these countries are not to be made happy by Prince Rupert's returning to his former command, rejoices that Prince Maurice has that appointment; successful skirmish with the enemy.

Byron, Lord, Chester, to Prince Rupert, May 5—has twenty-five thousand foot armed, all old soldiers, and five hundred unarmed, new levied; if Prince Rupert can but look into Lancashire, it is all his own; Lord Ormond insists on the taking of Liverpool, otherwise Prince Rupert can receive no more Irish supplies.

Byron, Lord, Liverpool, to Prince Rupert, August 10—Langdale again beaten at Malpas; officers did as much as could be, but were deserted by the soldiers.

Byron, Lord, Liverpool, to Prince Rupert, August 23—account of a defeat gained by Royalists at Ormskirk, near Liverpool; rebels commanded by Lord Molineux; on the other side Byron and Sir M. Langdale.

Byron, Lord, Liverpool, to Prince Rupert, August 29—rebels have marched out of Manchester and Warrington, and threaten this town; asks for horse from Chester.

Byron, Lord, Chester, to Prince Rupert, September 26—despatches Mr. Trevor to give a particular relation of the ill success of the obstinately fought battle of Montgomery, and the necessity of some considerable force and ammunition in these parts.

Byron, Lord, Chester, to Prince Rupert, October 9—urges the perilous state of Liverpool, where the soldiers are mutinous for want of pay; the ill effects of the loss of that town on Chester; complains that in Prince Rupert's absence he has not as, formerly, the sole command; he stands now as a cipher only, to be made liable for any errors committed.

Byron, Lord, Chester, to Prince Rupert, Jan. 19—doubts not but that the importance of this place being considered, some speedy means will be devised for its relief.

Byron, Richard, Newark, to Prince Rupert, April 13—concerning the enlargement and exchange of some prisoners of war.

Byron, Richard, Newark, to Prince Rupert, May 8—the rebels pursuing their good fortune in the taking of Newark, threaten this town; prays that Goring may have Prince Rupert's orders to come to their relief.

Byron, Richard, Newark, to Prince Rupert, November 6—presents to Prince Rupert the reasons of four captains condemned to death by a council of war.

Byron, Richard, Newark, to the King,—has been superseded in the governorship; prays Prince Rupert that he may receive a charge; if guilty, be punished, if not, be publicly acquitted, as his disgrace is now public.

Bynissy, John von, Round Aghton, Salop, to Prince Rupert, August 15—prevented from entering Bridgenorth, where his quarters are assigned by Sir L. Kirke, through the malignance of the citizens, who made many of the soldiers run away.

Campion, William, Borstall, to Prince Rupert, January 21—concerning the enemy's quarters near Aylesbury.

Campion, William, Borstall, to Prince Rupert, January 25—has reconnoitred Chiltern, where the enemy intend to make a garrison; requires five hundred men to man it; his fancy invited him to fire the house, but further consideration made him omit it."

Cashill, Thomas, Galway, to Prince Rupert, March 26—laments the inability of their magazines to supply the arms demanded by Prince Rupert, "whose good offices on behalf of this people has won so much on them."

Cave, Richard, Camp and Court of Baconnock, to Prince Rupert, August 13—the King master here; he has so beset Essex that he will be forced to fight; three days ago he refused a gracious message from his Majesty to treat for peace.

Cave, Richard, Plymouth, to Prince Rupert, September 9—desires to wait on Prince Rupert concerning the choice and early, taking to winter quarters.

Cave, Richard, Ludlow, to Prince Rupert, February 15—on his way to Prince Maurice with some regiments of horse, when he heard of the loss of Malmesbury through the treachery of the townspeople; castle still holds out.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 25—affectionately congratulates on victory; "earnestly entreats Prince Rupert to eschew Hannibal's error, as he imitates him in getting victories."

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 1 and 4—refers to some slight, supposed by Prince Rupert to have been intended by him; alludes to Hopton's retreat before Waller; hopes in a few days to venture another blow, and wishes Prince Rupert to be near.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 12—refers him chiefly to his messenger, Mr. W. Legge; urges his hastening the levies out of Wales, and regrets former delays.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 17—urgent commands to unite with Porter and all the horse and foot he can collect, and advance into the West Riding under Goring, so as to hinder the rebels from advancing northwards, and especially from falling upon Newcastle's rear.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Maurice, (same date)—concerning appointing a colonel-general of Oxford, Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecon, Radnor, and especially of Gloucestershire.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 19—desires to appoint a person of honour and interest to the post of colonel-general of Gloucestershire, now held by Vavasour; recommends Lord Chandos on Prince Rupert's approbation.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 18—Prince Rupert to understand that the Archbishop of York is about to reside in the remote part of Wales, and will be ready, if Prince Rupert requires it, to give him counsel in all things concerning his Majesty's supply.

CHARLES I., to Prince Rupert, (no date)—requires Prince Rupert to send two thousand effective men to Evesham to defend those parts, and to march with the remainder of his army whenever he pleases.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 20—complies with Prince Rupert's propositions so far as the state of affairs will permit; without the assistance his Majesty asks of Prince Rupert, he must relinquish these parts of the West, where Prince Rupert must remember "his wife is gone."

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 21—authorises Prince Rupert to press levies for recruiting two thousand men to supply those now sent to his Majesty at Evesham.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 22—recommends to Prince Rupert the relief of Lord Newcastle, but leaves the affair to his judgment; has sent Lord Byron for the two thousand men, which he cannot do without, as Manchester marches towards him.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 23—desires Prince Rupert to supply Loughborough with power for his garrisons; recommends to Prince Rupert's care the county of Gloucester, now added to his command, and especially to look on Sir J. Wintour and Colonel Reyer, who have employment therein.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, May 5—encloses Lady Farnham's petitions for her husband's exchange for another prisoner in Ludlow Castle under Prince Rupert's command.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, May 8—recommends to Prince Rupert the desires of the committee of Lords and Commons that Hereford be fortified against the rebels, and have a governor appointed.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, May 11—concerning the replacing of fifty or sixty men borrowed from Sir J. Beaumont's regiment for Col. Leveson at Headley Castle.

CHARLES I., to Prince Rupert, no date (part of letter)—thanks him for his freedom, though not of his opinion in all particulars, "offers a fancy of his own" whether Prince Maurice should not in his absence be declared general of horse.

CHARLES I., Worcester, to Prince Rupert, June 7—his chief hope, under God, in Prince Rupert; "had he been with him, he might not have found himself in his present strait."

CHARLES I., Buckingham, to Prince Rupert, June 22—earnestly desires Prince Rupert, "as he loves his own safety and that of his Majesty," to send Goring with all speed; will shortly explain the reasons.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, June—only adds to his former letter "that the relief of York is most absolutely best for his affairs, therefore Prince Rupert must march immediately, either north or hitherward.

CHARLES I., Evesham, to Prince Rupert, July (part in cipher)—refers to Lord Dives's relation, which Prince Rupert is fully to believe.

CHARLES I., Bath, to Newcastle, July 17—regrets the intention of his lordship and General King to go beyond seas; assures Newcastle that his late ill success shall

never lessen the memory of former services; if they persist, will appoint Goring and Sir T. Glenham to hold his command in his absence.

CHARLES I., Boconnock, to Prince Rupert, August 30—requests that Digby, whom he sends, may be taken again into favour as a faithful servant to his Majesty; assures Prince Rupert that he has full confidence in his affection and generosity.

CHARLES I., Tavistock, to Prince Rupert, September 6—sends powder for third time: desires Prince Rupert to discover and punish former defaulters, and to bring all his forces towards him "for another blow, which may end our business."

CHARLES I., Oakhampton, to Prince Rupert, September 16—is making haste eastward; his army must on Thursday be at Broadwicke, east of Exeter.

CHARLES I., Blandford, to Prince Rupert, October 11—the governor of Banbury, Basing, and Dennington must, if not relieved, accommodate in a few days, therefore desires Prince Rupert to meet him without loss of time at Salisbury with his army.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, January, 20—desires the governor of Newark to be ready to join Prince Rupert, who has a special service in Leicestershire, or to obey his orders elsewhere.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 4—refers the matter of two papers presented by Lord Loughborough to Prince Rupert, and puts the governor of Belvoir under Prince Rupert's command.

CORBETT, J., Morton, to Colonel Broughton, August 23—the enemy's strength not above five hundred foot and four troops of horse, largest piece two thousandweight, of which they brag much and threaten hard they will swallow us all up.

COBBE, F., Newark, to Prince Rupert, March 28—concerning Penniston in Yorkshire.

CROFT, E., Knaresborough, to Prince Rupert, August 1—the last fight had been Prince Rupert's if he had daylight; York is still faithful; if Prince Rupert return into Gloucestershire, his life for Prince Rupert's he would make the rebels tremble.

DAVENANT, William, Haleford, to Prince Rupert, June 13—dissuades Prince Rupert from joining the King in Lancashire instead of marching to York; will have a bad effect on people there, and the landowners will not follow the army so far from home; besides, the three great mines will thus be left to the rebels.

DERBY, Countess of, Lathom, to Prince Rupert, April 1—conjures Prince Rupert to have pity and to re-conquer.

DIGBY, Lord, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, February 12—concerning Colonel Gamell; recommended by the King to Prince Rupert's care and favour in point of his regiment, and for the governorship of Chester Castle.

DIGBY, George, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 25—congratulates on victory at Newark; offers propositions for Prince Rupert's further proceedings, whether to pursue the enemy in Lincolnshire or to Lancashire.

DIGBY, George, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 3—unwelcome tidings that the defeat of Hopton and Forth by Waller has made the rebels triumphant, and his Majesty requires all his forces to relieve Prince Maurice, who is at Lyme; the Queen also in peril at Bristol.

DIGBY, George, Oxford, April 4—countermands former order; Prince Rupert to remain where he is till further directions; that a good store of round shot and grenadines be sent to Worcester from the forge at Leighton, six miles from Shrewsbury.

DIGBY, George, Oxford, April 4, (duplicate by another hand)—thanks Prince Rupert for "so civil a return to a letter that he did conceive would so much displease him."

DIGBY, George, Oxford, April 6—acknowledges Prince Rupert's favour in giving his brother the great work of blocking up Plymouth; requests that part may be transferred to Sir J. Berkeley, and his brother have the horse under his Royal Highness.

DIGBY, George, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 6—three thousand of Essex's force come to Beckonsfield; he expected with more; daily expectation that Lyme will fall into Prince Maurice's hands.

DIGBY, George, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, May 11—reasons for his majesty's retreat from Abingdon upon the advance of Essex and Waller, not upon any disaster, but upon mature advice not to put anything to the hazard until Prince Rupert's success in the north or that of Prince Maurice at Lyme was heard of.

DIGBY, George, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, June 8—retreat of the King's army before the joint forces of Essex and Waller in sad condition; sole reliance of his Majesty on Prince Rupert's happy and timely success.

DIGBY, George, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, June 12—intercedes for his cousin, Sir John Digby, that he may be exchanged with any prisoners made by Prince Rupert "in that late noble action" at Bolton.

DIGBY, George, Bewdley, to Prince Rupert, June 14—congratulates his Royal Highness on the taking of Liverpool, which hath made a bridge with Ireland; hath despatched an order to Irish agents to supply his Royal Highness with two hundred barrels of powder.

DIGBY, George, Bradbury Down, to Prince Rupert, July 12—by jealousy or unskilfulness of Essex, the two rebel armies have parted Essex west as far as Salisbury; Waller pursuing the King towards Shrewsbury, by which his Majesty is able to slip back to Worcester, and either rejoin Oxford's army or fall on the enemy singly.

DIGBY, George, Evesham, to Prince Rupert, July 12—overtaken by Waller near Banbury, who well nigh cut off the King's rear from the main body, but Cleveland's horse rushed in so boldly as to put them to flight; King purposes to go west, and join Prince Maurice against Essex.

DIGBY, George, Bath, to Prince Rupert, July 17 (another same date)—condoles on ill success in Yorkshire; the King laments that Newcastle and King should go away discontented; approves of the appointment of Glenham and Goring in their place; King's army so far on their way towards Prince Maurice.

DIGBY, George, Exeter, to Prince Rupert, July 27—"Essex hoped by a swift march" to clap between Prince Maurice and Exeter; Prince Maurice reached it first, and Essex cannot now hinder his joining with the King.

DIGBY, Lord, Baconnock, to Prince Rupert, August 15—Essex encourages his army with hopes of being joined by Waller and Browne; the King invites them to make common cause; but Essex "possessed of such a frenzy as nothing can cure;" last peace measures ventured upon; Wilmot arrested at the head of the army; Goring declared general; Lord Percy has withdrawn himself, and Hopton "possessed of his charge;" hopes the ill humours of the army will be allayed.

DIGBY, Lord, Baconnock, to Prince Rupert, August 15—concerning the ammunition from, and affairs in, Ireland.

DIGBY, Lord, Baconnock, to Prince Rupert, September 4—rejoices at Prince Rupert's arrival at Bristol as much as at his Majesty's late victory; Waller's and Essex's horse now between us.

DIGBY, Lord, Exeter, to Prince Rupert, September 23—welcomes Prince Rupert's arrival "to animate the army with his spirit, made more worthy of him by the removal of those against whom Prince Rupert had too just a prejudice."

DIGBY, Lord, Whitchurch, to Prince Rupert, October 21—the King surprised and defeated near Andover the united forces of Essex and Waller, with eight troops of Manchester; they dispersed in consequence.

DIGBY, Lord, Newbury, to Prince Rupert, October 23—this considered the aptest station for his Majesty to relieve Banbury, to lie safe to accommodate ourselves, and incommodate the enemy, and lastly to conjoin with his Royal Highness's forces in case he is able to come.

DIGBY, Lord, field by Newbury, to Prince Rupert, October 25—his Majesty will send no peremptory orders, but acquaints Prince Rupert with his condition, by which Prince Rupert will judge what is necessary; "King's army drawn out under Donnington Castle, between that and the van so advantageously, that it is likely the rebels may be held in play for a day or two."

DIGBY, Lord, Newbury, to Prince Rupert, October 27—the enemy began to shoot "as if to play at *shall-I,-shall-I-not;*" appear very dastardly; urges Prince Rupert to make all haste to aid his Majesty.

DIGBY, Lord, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 5—recommends the care of Bristol garrison to Prince Rupert, and that Berkeley Castle be put under it; and that Sir R. Weston be made governor.

DIGBY, Lord, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 8—if Prince Rupert cannot immediately relieve Lathom House, his Royal Highness is desired at least to express to the Countess both his own and his Majesty's sense of her bravery, and to encourage her to continue her resolute defence.

DONGAN, William, Camden, (signed "Poor Firelock,") to Prince Rupert, December 23—has, according to Prince Rupert's command, taken possession of the house; does not himself think it tenable, but will labour in it at the hazard of me and mine; needs not now to make professions of devotion to Prince Rupert; does not write, because he knows his secretaries impart to Prince Rupert whatever passes.

DUNSMORE, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 4—thanks Prince Rupert for favour shewn to his nephew; hopes he will serve diligently.

DUNSMORE, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 10—the King has ordered Lord Digby to draw up a warrant to secure Dunsmore's nephew the place of standard-bearer in lieu of Edward Capell.

DYNE, Louis, Abingdon, to Prince Rupert, April 8—laments being doomed to live in a place where he is incapable to do Prince Rupert service; wishes Prince Rupert would give him leave to go and serve under him.

DYNE, Louis, Baconnock, West Cornwall, to Prince Rupert, September 4—"if Prince Rupert can draw his forces this way, it will be the most effectual means that can be imagined for the establishment of his Majesty's affairs."

DYNE, Louis, Sherborne, to Prince Rupert, February 13—has reduced Weymouth again under his Majesty's obedience; has sent Sir Walter Hastings, who was the foremost man that entered their works, to give an account of the action.

ESSEX, Lord, Sherborne, to Prince Rupert, February 28—acknowledges receipt of a letter from Prince Rupert, also the copy of Lord Hertford's; desires the original; will grant a pass to Sir A. Aston and servants to go to Bath for his health.

EAM, George, Chester, to Prince Rupert, October 27—the mayor of Conway had not received any orders to provide for the troops, and those which were sent to Carnarvon were entertained one month, and then likewise disposed up and down the country; for that reason Lord Byron recalled him.

ELYOTT, Thomas, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, May 9—King declared in council that he thought it necessary to send Prince Charles into the West, but never meant to recall Prince Maurice till Lyme were taken; great dislike to the measure prevails.

ELYOTT, Thomas, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, May 21—Prince Charles's message "that he shall, by his good-will, enterprise nothing wherein he has not his Royal Highness's approbation; has heard of ——— being carried to the enemy, if he does, he shall not fail to oppose it.

ELYOTT, Thomas, Salisbury, to Prince Rupert, October 16—comes to Salisbury, where there are five regiments of trainbands advancing upon them; beseeches Prince Rupert to consider how necessary his presence will be in an engagement.

ERNLY, Michael, Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert, August 27—intelligence from Lord Byron the enemy intends to march for Chester; their garrison in much distemper through rations of the Commissioners and the late governor.

ERNLY, Michael, Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert, September 19—upon the treacherous delivery of Montgomery Castle by Lord Cherburg; he (Ernly) brought thither a considerable force, beat Middleton, and kept them in ten days, when Lord Byron came with his army, but was beaten by the enemy advancing to the relief of the castle.

ERNLY, Michael, Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert, October 21—"since the disaster at Montgomery the edge of the gentry very much blunted; the country's loyalty strangely abated; they begin to warp to the enemy's party.

ERNLY, Michael, Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert, January 3—can get nothing paid for the subsistence of the garrison; wants arms and ammunition; officers discontented; horse in the outskirts eat up all the provisions.

ERNLY, Michael, Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert—disorders made by the gentry under the pretence of raising levies, and carrying off the whole business contrary to all authority, has drawn the enemy within four miles of the town; on Tuesday next there will be a general meeting of all the gentry and freeholders of the county.

ESSEX, Essex-house, to Lord Forth, Feb. 19—touching a safe conduct for Mr. Fanshawe and Mr. Offley to go to Westminster to the King, concerning a treaty of peace.

FANE, Francis, Lincoln, to Prince Rupert, April 6—is come hither by Newcastle's order; place threatened by Cromwell and Manchester; now at Burley; will do his utmost to defend it, "but has only a handful of old soldiers, besides new leagued men."

LARENTZ, Jacob, Bristol, to Prince Maurice, March 9—by Prince Maurice's order, followed Sir J. Winter to his house with forty brave horse; found not there the promised accommodation, and being led into action with a superior enemy, suffered great loss; himself severely wounded.

GRENVILLE, John, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, December 13—Barnstaple "can never keep their fingers out of a rebellion;" asks to be made governor of the town, having interest in the county; offers to raise one thousand men for Prince Rupert at his own expense, besides garrison.

GLENHAM, Thomas, York, to Prince Rupert, June 4—enemy's van marched this afternoon from Long Marston to Middlethorp; three generals, by letter, summon

him to surrender, but he refuses, and "will keep it for the King as long as he possibly can."

GLENHAM, Thomas, Carlisle, to Prince Rupert, October 23—fears former letters have miscarried; enemy's horse prevents provisions from entering the town; difficulty in raising money; report that Montrose had had happy success in Scotland, and beaten Argyle.

GAGE, Henry, Basing, to Prince Rupert, November 22—arrived in the night, expecting to be met by enemy, who had decamped; well provided with provisions, but want of clothes; garrison insubordinate; wants it changed.

GERRARD, Sir Gilbert, Worcester, no name, April 12—to acquaint Prince Rupert that the enemy is within five miles of Hereford, and is confident that his chief aim is to raise the siege of Brompton Castle.

GERRARD, Sir Gilbert, Worcester, April 21—has lately been coursing the Timberley; killed fifty upon the place, took thirty-eight prisoners, with pillage, which became free booty to the soldiers; in sight of the rebels in Sturton Castle, who thereupon abandoned it, and Sir Gilbert Gerrard has put in a garrison of sixty men for his Majesty.

GERRARD, Sir Gilbert, Worcester, to ——, May 1—"certifies that Massey has marched out of Gloucester with one thousand five hundred horse and foot, and two pieces of cannon; he plunders all places about him; Lord Denbigh on the other side with one thousand or one thousand two hundred horse."

GERRARD, Sir Gilbert, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, May 7—Massey marches towards Sudbury; spoke to Colonel Cary to be ready to give assistance; his answer was, that he cannot stir without his Royal Highness's order; has spoken to some clothiers in Worcester; lowest rate of cloth 13*s.* the piece, and thirty-six yards in the piece.

GERRARD, Sir Gilbert, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, May 19—want of money makes the works go slowly; it were not amiss for his Royal Highness to send some discreet person to take charge of these accounts with the excise and delinquents; Lord Denbigh's force lies sore upon the country.

GERRARD, Sir Gilbert, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, August 19—gentry of the country very forward in raising supplies; Lord Denbigh's force lies sore upon the country; intend to make garrison at the ——, which will be the greatest hindrance to his Majesty's garrisons.

GERRARD, Sir Gilbert, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, September 10—has assisted Colonel Cooke and Sir William Blakestone with all the horse and foot he could make; sends a letter from Loughborough concerning Manchester's march.

GERRARD, Sir Gilbert, Worcester to Prince Rupert, October 7—rebels with Cromwell before Banbury; not very strong; three thousand horse and foot.

GERRARD, Sir Gilbert, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, October 20—has sent men and cannon according to Prince Rupert's order; Banbury in distress.

GORING, George, Newark, to Lord Loughborough, April 26—is surprised that any gentleman should dispute his Majesty's orders, therefore that Lord Loughborough advances with all possible speed.

GORING, George, Brookesby, to Prince Rupert, May 10—lets Prince Rupert know Lord Newcastle's condition; has advanced nearer to Prince Rupert, so that he cannot be prevented from joining with him or Lord Loughborough; recommends Prince Rupert to keep this side Trent.

GORING, George, Brookesby, to Prince Rupert, June 11—differs from country gentlemen, who wish Prince Rupert to remain in Lancashire; passionately beseeches his hastening to relieve Lord Newcastle at York, and assumes that nothing can stand in his way.

GORING, George, Brookesby, to Prince Rupert, June 19—announces five thousand Scots coming over the Tweed; hopes they will receive interruption by the way; rejoices in Prince Rupert's approach to York, which must tend to the increase of Prince Rupert's glory.

GORING, George, to Prince Rupert, same date—informs them some loose troops are about Skipton, but in such numbers, that he is confident that the Westmoreland and Cumberland troops may advnce without hazard; asks Prince Rupert to let him know where he quarters every night.

GORING, George, Skipton, to Prince Rupert, June 25—has got one thousand arms out of the North, the rest are promised to follow; no news from York; professes devotion to his Royal Highness.

GORING, George, Skipton, to Prince Rupert, June 29—forced by enemy's approach to draw off from Taunton, and endeavour to intercept their joining; no way safe for Prince Rupert but by sea, or this army; begs to know Prince Rupert's quarters that he may wait on him.

GORING, George, Skipton, to Prince Rupert, August 9—apologies for not writing sooner.

GORING, George, to Prince Rupert, August 15—been in pursuit of some of Essex's horse, but excuses himself for letting them get out of his reach, by reason of his own being tired and disorderly.

GORING, George, Okehampton, to Prince Rupert, September 5—apologies for not hitherto waiting on his Royal Highness.

GORING, George, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, October 3—argues against the army petitioning the King to put Prince Rupert on the commission.

GORING, George, Calne, to Prince Rupert, December 29—urges difficulty of obeying his Majesty's orders, and his willingness to overcome them.

GORING, George, Sarum, to the King, January 9—reasons for asking a separate command from his Majesty.

GORING, George, Salisbury, to the King, January 22—enemy spread almost from Alton to Southampton; has beaten up their quarters; horse escaped, he believes, through treachery; foot most killed or taken, the foremost parties on each side Irish, who shewed no quarter.

GORING, George, Winchester, to Lord Digby, January 29—complains of his distance from Prince Rupert's immediate command; of his being removed from a place where he could have rendered some service to the King, and of the mutinous state of his army.

GORING, George, to Prince Rupert, (without date)—sends twenty-two prisoners and one captain, taken yesternight; beseeches Prince Rupert to send constable to assist in detecting the men who violated Prince Rupert's orders and protection, that he may become a suitor to his Royal Highness for justice upon them.

GORING, George, Wigan, to Prince Rupert, no date but 1644—Colonel Fenwick's quarters at Alton beaten up this night by those of Warrington; beseeches Prince Rupert to send some musketeers, or to remove their quarters.

GORING, George, to Prince Rupert, Wednesday, 5 A.M, (no date)—rebels have this evening attempted passing over Holeford; two of Goring's regiments, under Blakestone, passing over the ford, they were beaten; prisoners say they intend to send this night one hundred men from Warrington to Liverpool.

HERBERT, Lord, Oxford, to the Earl of Glamorgan, April 2—recommends Colonel Crowe, who will relate each particular of the late action.

HERBERT, ——, Montgomery Castle, to Prince Rupert, August 23—excuses himself from indulging "his ambition to kiss his Royal Highness's most valorous and princely hands," "because he has newly entered a course of physic."

HERBERT, ——, Ludlow, to Prince Rupert, September 5—prays Prince Rupert to send some relief to this castle; in the mean time, writes to Sir W. Balantine and the Commissioners of Salop, to that effect.

HERBERT, ——, Montgomery, to Prince Rupert, September 7—his father has surrendered his castle upon parley with Sir T. Middleton; recommends that the garrison be sent to Montgomery.

HERBERT, ——, Newport, Monmouthshire, to Prince Rupert, November 9—asks that the sequestration of all forfeited estates may be conferred on him.

HASTINGS, Sir H., Derby, to Prince Rupert, November 5—congratulates his Royal Highness on success; offers to assist him against Derby or Nottingham with one thousand horse, eight hundred muskets, two hundred pikes, and one thousand well-affected subjects; one piece of eighteen pound bullet, two of twelve, and eight drakes, besides heavy garrisons provided.

HAWLEY, Lord Francis, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, November 22—has been very industrious to inquire into the reported "treachery against the town, but can find nothing of consequence in the business; the Priggs poor miserable people, and Langton a rich fellow, but of lethargic humour, not awake above once a week;" Monmouth taken by surprise of the townsmen, with help of Lord Charles Somerset's garrison, and that of Abergavenny; intends to be there on Sunday.

HAWLEY, Lord Francis, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, November 29—asks that Colonel Chester may have the command of Devizes.

HAWLEY, Lord Francis, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, December 8—humbly desires that his

Royal Highness will confer knighthood on Colonel Veale, whom he sends; Colonel St. Leger waits on Prince Rupert with papers from General Gerrard, who has some dispute with Sir J. Winter.

HOGHTON, Sir Gilbert, Chester, to Prince Rupert, September 26—acquaints Prince Rupert with passages between Sir R. Byron and him, who expresses himself in very high language, and caused him to be arrested for 800*l.*, which they accused him retaining, of country money; begs that if any information be given to his Majesty, Prince Rupert will remove ill opinion against him.

HALTBY, Marquis of, Monmouth, to Prince Rupert, September 22—troops of horse and four hundred foot of Lord Denbigh's have advanced within and joined the rebels of Gloucester; sent for the horse quartered near, which Sir William Blaxton, being summoned to Prince Rupert, has recalled; one troop remains.

HALTBY, Marquis of, Bath, to Prince Rupert, October 27—has received Prince Rupert's orders to be at Chippenham on Tuesday; soldiers keep reasonably well together; officers from Wales meeting for going home.

HALTBY, Marquis of, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, May 6—sends the account of hundreds appointed to supply 500*l.* to the garrison at Bristol.

HALTBY, Marquis of, Bath, to Prince Rupert, December 25—now that the enemy has gone out of Somerset, will set to arrange affairs here.

HUTCHINSON, Colonel John, Nottingham, to Sir J. Digby and other gentlemen—March 26—trusts that God, who already restrained the rage of their cruel hearts and the power of devouring elements, "will still be the same for us."

JERMYN, Lord, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 26—Prince Rupert's good success has changed the face of the country, and so also of the Court, more than anything that happened since the beginning of troubles.

JERMYN, Lord, Oxford, to Prince Rupert (same date)—has had particular watch of Lord Digby; conjures Prince Rupert to believe that he has not failed in anything to him; Queen repeats congratulations of former letter.

JERMYN, Lord, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 27—Queen's commands for the protection of Sir R. Wynne's houses and estates.

JERMYN, Lord, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 13—advertises Prince Rupert of the probable removal of three or four bedchamber gentlemen; may not be improper for Prince Rupert once more to mention his desire in behalf of William Legge; the Queen removes on Monday.

JERMYN, Lord, Abergavenny, to Prince Rupert, April 20—Queen has recommended exchange of four prisoners to his Majesty; Prince Rupert will see answer by Lord Digby, for whose duty and respect Lord Jermyn is answerable.

JERMYN, Lord, Exeter, to Prince Rupert, June 14—Essex's march this way has caused Prince Maurice to draw his army (three thousand remaining) from before Lyme; this place will hold out six weeks.

KILLIGREW, Thomas, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 2—prays Prince Rupert to look on bearer, Mr. Robinson, for a company; calls himself "poor Tom."

KIRKE, Sir Louis, Bridgenorth, to Prince Rupert, March 25, 1644—public thanksgiving here and at Shrewsbury, on Wednesday, for Prince Rupert's success at Newark the same day; Apsley House retaken by Colonel Ellicé.

KIRKE, Sir Louis, Bridgenorth, to Prince Rupert, March 26—report enclosed of two hundred killed and fifty taken at Longford.

KIRKE, Sir Louis, Bridgenorth, to Prince Rupert, April 9—asks for Sir Walter Wrottesley's convoy for plate laid up in this garrison, with which he intends to pay a privy seal for 50*l.* sent from Oxford.

KIRKE, Sir Louis, Bridgenorth, to Prince Rupert, April 18—has sent the shot and match to Shrewsbury, according to Prince Rupert's orders; great want of pay and provisions "makes soldiers mutter out their discontents;" complains of resistance on the part of the collector of contributions at Shiffnal, who incited the parishioners to insult and wound the soldiers sent to demand it.

KIRKE, Sir Louis, Bridgenorth, to Prince Rupert, August 21—has received no answer to former letters; prays for order for men from Shrewsbury; has written concerning one Gardiner, whose goods he had seized according to his Majesty's proclamation; if he repairs to Prince Rupert, prays him to respite the business.

KIRKE, Sir Louis, Bridgenorth, to Prince Rupert, November 11—since the taking of Salop, the enemy has grown so bold as to quarter within a mile of the town; has asked for assistance from neighbouring garrisons, but receives none; prays for relief from his Royal Highness.

KIRKE, Sir Louis, Bridgenorth, to Prince Rupert, February 25—Shrewsbury yielded up by treachery of the townspeople, which endangers this garrison, inhabitants and county in general being rotten ashes; for one thousand men; trusts, by God's assistance, to give good account.

KIRKE, Sir Louis, Bridgenorth, to Prince Rupert, February 22—come out of Westmoreland and Cumberland into Lancashire, where he has had troublesome quarters; he and Lord Molineux received an alarm near Kirkham, and have withdrawn the horse from the county.

LANGDALE, Marmaduke, Chester, to Prince Rupert, August 21—horse come slowly on, owing to unseasonable weather.

LANGDALE, Marmaduke, Creke, Monmouth, to Prince Rupert, October 22—thinks Goring might be spared for the North; if Newark, Pontefract, and Belvoir, be lost, his Majesty may account all North Trent an enemy's country.

LANGDALE, Marmaduke, Winchester, to Prince Rupert, January 12—has had a prosperous march, and beaten the enemy near Pontefract; "a sharp contest, but God gave them victory."

LANGDALE, Marmaduke, Bingham, to Prince Rupert, March 6—relates the defeat of Lord Byron near Liverpool; Langdale stopped the progress of enemy, "and retreated without the least disturbance; but of Tilsby, Molineux, and Lord Byron's regiment, the account is very short."

LEGGE, William, Chester, to Prince Rupert, August 22—asks for warrants to enable the army to subsist.

LEGGE, William, Camden, to Prince Rupert, December 25—is come here by Prince Rupert's orders; finds cattle and all manner of provisions eaten up, so that he "rather fears a famine than an enemy."

LISLE, Sir George, Farringdon, to Prince Rupert, December 6—"that Prince Rupert be pleased to give his commands unto the governors of Donnington Castle and Wallingford, that they desist intermeddling at all in any of those quarters assigned him;" asks for pay to officers and soldiers.

LISLE, Sir George, Farringdon, to Prince Rupert, December 13—just returns from sounding enemy's horse; quarters at Steneton Drayton; horse tired and lame, but sends two hundred musketeers, according to Prince Rupert's order.

LEVESON, Dudley Castle, to Prince Rupert, December 1—Colonel Bagot has most contemptuously disobeyed his Majesty's order to pay the contribution (to Leveson), and also to endeavour to get the contribution of Warwickshire; prays Prince Rupert that if Colonel Bagot rest not content, they may both appear before his Majesty, Prince Rupert, and his council of war.

LLOYD, Walter, Innysmaengwyn, to Thomas Owen, April 2—Pembrokeshire urged the traitorous covenant also in Carmarthen and Glamorganshire.

LLOYD, Charles, Farringdon, to Prince Rupert, December 1—unfavourable report of Ramsey as a proposed garrison; requires three months to fortify it, seven hundred men at least to man it, and the moat a cock might stride.

LLOYD, Charles, Farringdon, to Prince Rupert, December 8—Prince of Wales's horse taken from him by Colonel Lisle, under his Royal Highness's orders; all his ammunition seized by Lord Ashley; impossible to remain unless he is supplied.

LLOYD, Charles, Highworth, to Prince Rupert, December 22—ventured to march with Goring, that he may obey Prince Rupert's orders, seeing that he had his commission to live instead of staying to starve.

LLOYD, Charles, Devizes, to Prince Rupert, January 8—has made Blagg's house uninhabitable; the high sheriff of Malmesbury takes infinite pains to shew himself obedient to Prince Rupert's commands.

LLOYD, Charles, Devizes, to Prince Rupert, January 4—will demolish the house, which he cannot maintain, after receiving Prince Rupert's letter; asks for command of Colonel Howard's regiment.

LOUGHBOROUGH, Lord, Tutbury, to Prince Rupert, April 10—concerning some horses for the army and sending soldiers to their colours.

LOUGHBOROUGH, Lord, Tutbury, to Prince Rupert, April 13—Sir E. Osborne and another Yorkshire gentleman gone to Hull to petition for those parts; Goring cannot get to the Lord Marquis with Ewing's regiment without sufficient force to beat Fairfax by the way.

LOUGHBOROUGH, Lord, Lichfield, to Prince Rupert, April 16—Colonel Bagot pursued some rebels' horse into Stafford; took the captain and sixteen prisoners; difficult to fetch horses for Prince Rupert out of those parts, but will attempt it so soon as I can possibly.

LOUGHBOROUGH, Lord, Ashby, to Prince Rupert, September 24—the Scots advancing upon those parts of Lancashire where Sir T. Preston and Sir R. Pattison were, they marched away to Pomfret, where they beat the rebels lying at Ferrybridge, and so marched to Newcastle.

LOUGHBOROUGH, Lord, to Prince Rupert (no date)—reasons for abandoning some garrison; town attacked by Gell.

LUNSFORD, Sir Thomas, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, August 26—accepts command under his Royal Highness, "honoured by a deep engagement to him whilst he was in prison, and resolved to express it by all the faithful services he can fasten on."

MANLEY, Roger, Bala, to Lord Byron—gives an account of the enemy's taking Redcastle, which was but meanly stored and ill manned; all taken except himself, who passed through their guard.

MAURICE, Prince, Lyme, to the King, May 9—complains that Sir J. Berkeley and Colonel Digby have received commissions without any privity of his; submits to his Majesty whether this be not a lessening of the command which the King hath given him.

MAURICE, Prince, Evesham, to Prince Rupert, January 16—Mr. Wyatt will give a particular account of Salop affairs.

MAURICE, Prince, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, January 29—Staffordshire desires a commission like that granted by Prince Rupert in Shropshire; warns him to be cautious in the business of the association.

MAYNE, John, Pontefract, to Prince Rupert, October 12—sends Captain Smith to acquaint him with the state of these parts; asks him to bestow Captain Lister on him, whom he took prisoner, in exchange for his intimate friend Sir Symon Fanshawe.

MENNES, John, Beaumaris, to Prince Rupert, October 18—Merionethshire and Montgomeryshire threatened; Liverpool in sad condition; Cumberland revolted; Whitehaven only place of intelligence for the North; has discovered some hidden plate of Lord Leicester's, and begs it may be assigned to his charge.

MOLESWORTH, Guy, Bridgewater, to Prince Rupert, January 23—represents, as he has already done, to Prince Maurice the miserable condition of this part of his Royal Highness's regiment; prays for some speedy course to be taken, such as men may with justice expect after such long service.

MORGAN, Lewis, Ragland Castle, to Prince Rupert, October 17—relates an encounter he and his men had with Colonel Price, who accused him of being privy to the rising in Monmouthshire; prays for protection against this persecution.

MYNNE, Nicholas, Newport, to William Skippe Ledberie, April 10—gives him notice of eleven troops of rebels under Colonel Bone being drawn up at Huntley Heath; desires him to furnish provisions, and as many saddles and bridles as he can to mount dragoons.

NEWCASTLE, Lord, Durham, to Prince Rupert, March 25—for all the affairs of the North refers to Sir J. Mayne; assures his Royal Highness that "the Scots are as big again in foot as he is; and their horse, he doubts, much better than theirs too; if Prince Rupert come not soon, the great game of his uncle's will be endangered if not lost."

NEWCASTLE, Lord, Durham, to Prince Rupert, March 29—it is said that Sir T. Fairfax is coming into Yorkshire; if Prince Rupert could march that way, hopes it would put a final end to their troubles.

NEWCASTLE, Lord, Durham, to Prince Rupert, March 30—infinitely sorry that he shall not have the honour to wait on his Royal Highness; if Prince Rupert order not Byron to march after Fairfax, who is now at Leeds, these parts will be very shortly in great distress; Scots raising every eighth man.

NEWCASTLE, Lord, York, to the King, April 18—Colonel Bellasis defeated, being taken prisoner with all his officers; might have been prevented had Lord Loughborough and Colonel Porter assisted according to order; York will soon be ruined unless speedily relieved.

NEWCASTLE, Lord, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, May 12—Queen's return from France; great hopes from thence; Ormond proceeds in his treaty with the Irish.

NICHOLAS, Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, May 12—divisions in London parliament; his Majesty sits in council at Abingdon; Prince Maurice repulsed at Lyme; Queen sick at Exeter; Waller at Farnham; advance of Essex and Manchester on York apprehended; Essex gives out that he marches not this se'nnight; Lord Denbigh raises forces in Warwick and Northampton.

NICHOLAS, Edward, Oxford, to Sir J. Gamall, Deputy Governor of Chester, July 21—Lord

Hopton and Prince Maurice join against Essex in the West; Taunton surrendered to Essex; Basing House still bravely defended.

NICHOLAS, Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, September 7—Banbury close begirt fears not all the power of rebels for some months; works have been made very defensible, so nothing can hurt if vigilant.

NICHOLAS, Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, September 8—garrison of rebels, 400 in Reading, 500 in Aylesbury, 1500 in Abingdon, 400 in Newbury, mostly pressed men, who at any alarm are ready to be gone.

NICHOLAS, Edward, Oxford, to the King, October 2—difference between Manchester and Cromwell; Sir R. Byron advertised by some of the most knowing men in London, that if his Majesty marched suddenly towards London or into Kent, rebels will be absolutely ruined; but they had such good friends near his Majesty, they would divert him from marching into Kent.

NICHOLAS, Edward, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, October 2—chiefly in cipher; his Majesty marched against Waller at Andover, who withdrew.

NICHOLAS, Edward, Oxon, to Prince Rupert, Nov. 2—whilst Abingdon is a garrison of rebels, they cannot spare his Majesty any forces from Oxon.

NICHOLAS, Sir E., to Prince Rupert, (no date)—encloses letter from Colonel Leveson, concerning differences between Lord Loughborough, himself, and Colonel Bagot; his Majesty thinks the president necessary in Wales; considers Sir T. Hannan a very fit man; a contagious disease amongst Waller's soldiers, so that they cannot get men to recruit.

NORTHAMPTON, Banbury, to Prince Rupert, January 18—send bearer to inform Prince Rupert that enemy hath planted themselves at Fazeley, where, if they be suffered, they will much annoy his garrison.

NORTHAMPTON, Banbury, to Prince Rupert, January 20—enemy after "began to set spade in ground, have left this intended garrison, and have marched away;" will make Faulsley House unfitting for their use.

NORTHAMPTON, Swindon, to Lord George Digby, December 1—prays him to intercede that his troops be left with him and quartered at Trowbridge.

ORMOND, Lord, Dublin Castle, to Prince Rupert, March 28—recommends Captain Dunbarre, who is going to command a company in his Majesty's service.

ORMOND, Lord, Dublin Castle, to Prince Rupert, April 18—is preparing three companies for North Wales under Colonel Trafford, whom he recommends to Prince Rupert; finds less willingness than he expected in Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland in supplying arms and ammunition.

ORMONDE, Lord, Dublin Castle, to Prince Rupert, April 29—hopes to send with Captain Bartlet three hundred men well armed, and could supply good bodies of men "if he had means of conveyance for them."

PORTER, G., Lincoln, to Prince Rupert, March 24—finds some cannon, but no arms or ammunition; enemy possessed with so strange a senseless fear, that they will not believe any place tenable to which his Royal Highness will march.

PORTER, G., Newark, to Prince Rupert, March 28—excuses himself for not waiting on his Royal Highness before he went; asks him to give the command of those parts to Major Hunks, and so leave him free to march into Yorkshire.

PORTER, G., Lincoln, to Prince Rupert, March 30—farther apologies and regret at having displeased his Royal Highness; just received orders to march with all the horse and foot he can get to meet Fairfax in York.

PORTER, G., Lincoln, to Prince Rupert, April 1—preparing to march, but thought fit to represent in the interim to his Royal Highness the advantage of his remaining here a short space, that he may add to his army.

POWER, Richard, Barkley Castle, to Prince Rupert, February 19—Lord Hopton endeavours to cross his Royal Highness's orders, conferring the subsistence of a sufficient garrison to this castle; represents its importance to Bristol.

PRESTON, John, Newark, to Prince Rupert, October 23—finds himself so dangerous sick, that he desires his Royal Highness will bestow a grant of his forces to Sir John Gillington, and make Francis Middleton lieutenant-governor.

PRICEMACOMES, Thomas, Aske, to Prince Rupert, September 11—backwardness of collectors in paying contribution, whereby the soldiers might be relieved and the officers cherished.

PRISE, Herbert, Brecon, to Prince Rupert, April 12—invited into these parts by gentry of Carmarthen and Cardigan, considering the impossibility of their receiving help otherwise, has marched that way.

PRISE, Herbert, Brecon, to Prince Rupert, April 13—withdraws from these parts to Herefordshire, in obedience to his Royal Highness, but represents that this will alienate the faithful subjects in these parts, and leave them a prey to the rebels.

PRISE, Herbert, Brecon, to Prince Rupert, May 7—misfortune at Carmarthen through want of promised relief; prays for forces from Glamorganshire, and orders to seize arms in private men's hands.

REDMAYNE, John, Pontefract Castle, to Lady Jane Cavendish, April 13,—believes the two arch-rebels will not be long asunder; York, insolent in prosperity, is abject and distracted in this time of adversity; some ships, forsaking their rebellion, have come with provisions to Scarborough.

RHODES, Joseph, Newark, to Prince Rupert, January 10—Colonel Whichcote, bearing a letter from Lady Byron to her son, Sir Nicholas, it came open, and related Prince Rupert's intention of associating Rhodes with himself in government of Newark, which he recommends him to resist; prays that this garrison be better victualled, otherwise enemy will take advantage of their nakedness.

RICHMOND, Duke of, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, May 26 (mostly cipher)—affairs in the West.

RICHMOND, Duke of, Bewdly, to Prince Rupert, June 14 (cipher)—if York be lost, greatest blow that can happen.

RICHMOND, Duke of, Baconnock, to Prince Rupert, August 15—does not believe in plots at Court against Prince Rupert; letter in cipher relates to.

RICHMOND, Duke of, Oxford, November to Prince Rupert, 12—ambassador (French) proposes mediation between King and rebels.

RICHMOND, Duke of, Tavistock, to Prince Rupert, November 14—cipher concerning Prince Rupert's discontent.

SCROPE, Adrian, Oxford, to Colonel Browne, Governor of Abingdon, January 16—intercedes for a gentlewoman of Lady Rivers's; sent to London to procure a pass for her mistress from Paris.

SANDYS, Samuel, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, February 19—Prince Maurice took powder from him which was never replaced; Colonel Scudamore took Castleditch House, Hereford; took Colonel Hopton, nine officers and men prisoners.

SANDYS, Samuel, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, February 22—has heard that Shrewsbury is lost through treachery; if his Royal Highness take not order for the supply and strength of these parts they will be speedily overrun.

SCUDAMORE, B., Hereford, to Sir E. Nicholas, March 1—suggestions for raising men and money, by distraining them to employ horse.

SCUDAMORE, B., Hereford, to Prince Rupert, March 3—concerning disturbances in Shropshire and neighbouring counties.

SCUDAMORE, B., Hereford, to Prince Rupert, October 16—prays that Prince Rupert will consider the distressed state of the county, and not quarter permanently upon it; also to supply one thousand muskets.

TILLIER, Henry, Shiffnall, to Prince Rupert, April 28—has reduced the rebel garrison in Long Castle and College; the former worth the keeping, but the other it were better to demolish.

TREVOR, Arthur, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 11—justice of Prince Rupert's demand for money, "but nothing will be done here but by the immediate finger of the King; professions were being written in this deceitful matter, that wears out in a little travail or motion."

TREVOR, Arthur, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 28—compliments Prince Rupert on "the strong magic of a seasonable victory; Archimedes's cylinder, with which he pretends to turn the earth, could not do more."

TREVOR, Arthur, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 23—"joins with the courtier, the scholar, indeed people of all ages, all sexes, all faculties, in bonfires, in congratulating Prince Rupert on his happy success in the aid of Newark, by attributing to his so eminent courage and conduct all on this side idolatry."

TUKE, S., Uske, to Prince Rupert, September 19—will expect boats from Bristol for their quick passage; their broken condition was made so much the worse by unkind usage of Governor of Worcester.

TUKE, S., St. Peere, North Wales, to Prince Rupert, September 20—quartered near Chepstow; threatened by enemy; jealous of an affront from them.

TUKE, S., St. Reeves, to Prince Rupert, September 22—must despair of waiting on Prince Rupert unless he commands a sufficient number of boats, and for the quartering of those horse who cannot now pass.

TUKE, S., St. Reeves, to Prince Rupert, September 24—renews petition for transporting and quartering the remains of his army.

TUKE, S., Lantermann, Monmouth, to Prince Rupert, September 30—" no trust in the country gentry ; greater part nigling traitors ;" their tenants rise, disarm, and wound their men for coming to quarters assigned them.

TUKE, S., Lantermann, Monmouth, to Prince Rupert, October 1—proposes that a proportionable sum be raised from such of the rich gentry (of estates of 100*l.* per annum) as shall be presented in a list to Prince Rupert for his maintenance of horse, and no way hinder the contribution, privy seal, or otherwise.

VAVASOUR, William, near Painswick, to Prince Rupert, March 27—the King proposed to confer on Prince Maurice the command of all South Wales ; at first he would only sign warrants for the three counties under Lord Carberry, but William Vavasour assured his Majesty that Prince Rupert would not accept it, and his Majesty then promised when Lord Herbert came he would do it.

VAVASOUR, William, near Painswick, to Prince Rupert, April 1—in a good way to clear the county of the enemy ; Herefordshire ..... may for the removal of regiment of horse under Sir M. Woodhouse.

VAVASOUR, William, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 6—sent a relation of taking Painswick ; prays Prince Rupert to protect him from receiving an affront which is very much laboured here by Lord Herbert.

VAVASOUR, William, Hereford, to Prince Rupert, April 19—extremely necessary for Prince Rupert to meet commissioners on the morrow ; shall propose a way for increasing the army and to frame a handsome park of artillery.

VAVASOUR, William, Hereford, to Prince Rupert, April 13th (another, without date, on same subject)—Colonel Mynne, through disobedience of three several orders, has caused himself to be besieged in two untenable houses, which must be battered.

WATTS, John, Chircke Castle, to Prince Rupert, December 25—three days besieged by rebels ; engineers attempted to work into the Castle under greater plankers and tables, but stones from Royalists within beat them off.

WALLER, Sir William, Chircke Castle, to Prince Rupert, November 19—concerning the exchange of prisoners.

WESTON, Richard, Berkeley Castle, to Lord Corke, March 2—prays Prince Rupert to look on the officers of this garrison ; the foot have had no pay there twelve weeks ; the latter none since the new governor, Sir C. Lucas, came in there.

WHITE, Henry, Beaumaris, to Prince Rupert, December 21—prays for a warrant from Prince Rupert for parting with Lord Leicester's plate left in his charge, if he is to deliver it into other hands ; sought to be taken by force.

WILLOUGHBY, J., Lincoln, to Sir M. Byron, Governor of Newark, March 23—desires the favour of a " pass for a surgeon " to obey his " Cornell " made prisoner, and ill wounded in the late action before Newark.

WILLYS, R., Bath, to Prince Rupert, January 7—acknowledges the confirmation of his Royal Highness's noble intentions towards him.

WILLYS, R., Worcester, to Prince Rupert, February 19—notice from Newark that the rebels are joined about Nottingham, from Grantham, Derby, and Leicester.

WILMOT, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 2—his Royal Highness will understand too soon the defeat of Lord Hopton received by Waller ; marches on the morrow towards Newbury.

WINTON, John, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, November 20—the enemy fortified near Chepstow ; has prepared two frigates for defence of river.

WINTON, John, St. Peere, to Prince Rupert, October 26—concerning forces at Chepstow, which he is provisioning and fortifying ; meeting of commissioners more like a fair than a rendezvous where enemy is expected ; recommends his wife to care of Prince Rupert, exposed at his house, and cling with her children to mercy of the rebels ; her zeal for his Majesty's service.

WINTOUR, John, St. Peere, to Prince Rupert, October 26—enemy stirs, but hopes they are intent upon Abergavenny ; Colonel Gerrard marches upon the forest, Gloucester, is to be given out to deceive the rebels.

WOODHOUSE, Mr., Cranton, to Prince Rupert, April 6—the rogues made a sally out of the Castle ; both officers and men fled from the workers ; all deserve to be hanged ; begs to know whence a woman taken up in man's clothes bearing a letter from a Castle to a man in the county.

WOODHOUSE, Mr., Cranton, to Prince Rupert, April 12—cannot make good the place without assistance.

Woodhouse, Mr., Cranton, to Prince Rupert, April 14—thanks to Prince Rupert for sending more men; hopes towards the latter end of the week to have the men firing; by Sir W. Vavasour order was sent to Colonel Harrie's horse for the succouring Hereford; Colonel Minn is besieged in Newent.

Woodhouse, Mr., Clanlord Castle, to Prince Rupert, April 17th—place delivered up, giving the rebels their lives.

Woodhouse, Mr., Ludlow Castle, to Prince Rupert, September 5—enemy has beaten up Sir T. Gardiner's quarters in Newtown; the enemy very strong in Montgomery and in Wornell.

Woodhouse, Mr., Ludlow Castle, to Prince Rupert, October 5—continued misfortunes; Redd Castle delivered up to the enemy; Vangries refuses his house; prays his Royal Highness to send ammunition.

Wyatt, Dudley, Salop, to Prince Rupert, December 15—is in bad condition, having a false people to deal with,—people in the town understanding nothing but mutiny; Prince Maurice about Ruthin to fetch in provisions; God send him safe hither!

Wyatt, Dudley, Evesham, to Prince Rupert, January 15—had informed Prince Rupert that the Archbishop of York had made Colonel Trafford Governor of Conway, but was misinformed, it is Colonel Elmlys; yet neither he nor any man's affection of the people cooled by Prince Rupert's absence; Prince Maurice expected.

Wyndham, Edmund, Bridgenorth, to Prince Rupert, September 7—Essex's horse joined with Middleton's about Kyneton; some of his Majesty's horse fell upon them and beat them; believe they intend to march into Dorsetshire and then join Waller; thinks Prince Rupert may be able to prevent it.

Wyndham, Edmund, Bridgewater, to Prince Rupert, December 14—had remained before Taunton till overpowered by enemy, and, unsupported by his friends, he had withdrawn, pursued by enemy in his retreat; "but they were so hungry they could not come by any house, but they sought for bread, and by that means gave us the better opportunity of coming off."

Wyndham, Edmund, Chard, to Prince Rupert, January 6—complains of having Lord Hopton, who did disoblige him (to oust him of all command), set over, when he would have defended the county, having four thousand in the field.

York, Archbishop of, Conway, to Prince Rupert, January 29—appeals to Prince Rupert's princely wisdom and justice, and to the universal testimony of the three counties, how good and faithful servant he has been, not Sir J. Minnes and William Wyatt, who want some other person to bear their own aberrations.

Ashburnham, Lord, Ragland, to Prince Rupert, July 9—concerning appointing Colonel Broughton to a regiment; his Majesty's care to give Prince Rupert contentment.

Ashburnham, Lord, Ragland, to Prince Rupert, July 11—was proposed in debate to add to Sir C. Lucas's foot and horse in order to hinder the rebels from provisioning; no farther steps taken without Prince Rupert's approbation.

Ashburnham, Lord, Ragland, to Prince Rupert, July 28—troubled that two hundred quarters of corn have been so long reaching Prince Rupert at Bristol.

Ashburnham, Lord, Lichfield, to Prince Rupert, August 11—certain intelligence of Montrose's victory over Bagley, July 2.

Astley, Sir Jacob, Rugby, to Prince Rupert, July 2—affairs of Hereford; King has associated for defence the counties of South Wales.

Astley, Sir Jacob, Cardiff, to Prince Rupert, July 17—King garrisons South Wales; he meets the Monmouth commissioners at Ragley.

Astley, Sir Jacob, Newport, to Prince Rupert, July 30—the county refuse to assist the King, unless they might have all unreasonable demands; his Majesty is at Cardiff.

Astley, Sir Jacob, Cardiff, to Prince Rupert, August 11—"county of Glamorgan so unquiet, as there is no good to be expected; shall strive as far as he can to put things in order, which he despairs of, because it must be power to rule these people, and not entreaties with cap in hand to such as deserve the halter."

Astley, Sir Jacob, Newport, to Prince Rupert, August 15—that the gentlemen of the associated counties of Brecknock, most of them inclined to be neutral, and to join with the strongest party; wishes to engage them to join together to relieve Hereford.

Charles I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, March 7—desires Prince Rupert to take command of horse and foot and endeavour to reduce Abingdon.

CHARLES I., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 7—Writes that Prince Rupert may not think him too lazy, and to assure him that not a minute is lost in preparations.

CHARLES I., and Lord Digby, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 30 — King cannot move unless Prince Rupert send draft-horses; Cromwell before Farringdon, "makes no doubt of its holding out till Prince Rupert releases it."

CHARLES I., Hereford, to Prince of Wales, June 20—commissions to Lord Goring, *not* intended as a lessening of Prince Rupert's authority.

CHARLES I., Abergavenny, to Prince Rupert, July 3—leaves him the full exercise of it (in the West) by the advice of his council.

CHARLES I., Abergavenny, to Prince Rupert, July 5 — fully approves of Prince Rupert's dispatches sent by Culpepper.

CHARLES I., Abergavenny, to Prince Rupert, July 6—asks Prince Rupert's opinion on various matters.

CHARLES I., Ragland, to Prince Rupert, July 7—quartering of the horse in North Wales, where Byron's are, will prejudice his Majesty's affairs; prays they may be ordered away.

CHARLES I., Ragland, to Prince Rupert, July 11 and 18—without Prince Maurice, Worcester in great disorder, that he move not thence till the rebels' designs be known.

CHARLES I., Newport, to Prince Rupert, July 24—consults Prince Rupert as to his crossing the water at Black Rock, and other matters.

CHARLES I., Ruperry, to Prince Rupert, July 26—alludes to a letter on "affirmative and negative by Lord Digby's hand; if he knew not Prince Rupert's secret, would not at this time impart it.

CHARLES I., Cardiff, to Prince Rupert, August 4 — better than his word, having ordered two regiments to march to him with all possible speed; has hastened supplies from Ireland by Lord Ormond.

CHARLES I., Ragland, to the army and navy, September 14 — "if it were not for danger of passage, and that he knew not how Bristol could do without him, would wish him with his son; commends his conduct at this place.

CHARLES I., Newark, to the Army and Navy, October 27—revokes Prince Rupert's commissions, and gives him and his company a pass beyond seas.

CHARLES I., Newark, to Prince Rupert, October 30—signifies that Prince Rupert's remaining in any garrison longer than necessary, will be a violation of his pass.

CHARLES I., to Prince Rupert, letter without date—surprised to hear that he had appointed Adjutant Skimson governor of Lichfield without advising with him; knows that it proceeds merely of a hasty forgetfulness.

CHARLES I., Newton, to Prince Maurice, September 20—on the unpleasant subject of his brother Rupert's present condition; his unhandsome quitting the castle and fort of Bristol; "confident that this great error proceeded not from change of affection, but merely by having his judgment seduced by some rotten-hearted villains."

CULPEPPER, John, Cardiff, to Prince Rupert, August 5—concerning general state of Devon and Cornwall under Lord Goring.

DIGBY, Lord, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 2—will be ready to march five or six days after the works come from Worcester.

DIGBY, Lord, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 27—Cromwell threatens to beat up the King's quarters, and prevent his joining Prince Rupert; suggests whether Prince Rupert should not march hither as strong as he can.

DIGBY, Lord, Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 29—all in cipher.

DIGBY, Lord, Lichfield, to Prince Rupert, May 5—meeting of the Staffordshire Commissioners; his Majesty's commission joyfully and cheerfully received, except by Colonel Leveson, who opposed the warrants.

DIGBY, Lord, Hereford, to Prince Rupert, June 21—copy of a letter to the Prince of Wales, explaining former one, which had been considered a lessening of the Prince of Wales's authority; is sent for Prince Rupert's approbation.

DIGBY, Lord, to W. Legge, no date—on the causes of the battle of Marston Moor being lost; criticism on Prince Rupert's conduct, "they have carried on with such asperity and confidence of victory, as though he that should have said *Consider*, would have been your foe."

DIGBY, Lord, Ragland Castle, to Lord Jermyn (extract), July 16—Prince Rupert's coldness to him; supposed cause, his advising his Royal Highness to go to Oxon from Daintree, instead of going back to Harborough, and also to write to the Prince of Wales.

DIGBY, Lord, Ragland Castle, to Prince Rupert, July 13—King concurs in Prince Rupert's resolutions concerning Bristol; sends the debates of council; if Prince Rupert's opinion differs, his Majesty desires he will hasten over to him.

DIGBY, Lord, Ruperry, to Prince Rupert, July 28—information of Montrose's victory on the 2nd, against Bagley, who lost one thousand five hundred men; Lord Gordon killed on the Royalist side; the King's stay here uncertain.

DIGBY, Lord, Ascot, to Lord ——, August 27—Protestant demands in Ireland; prediction of the King's misfortunes; he believes there are not four persons besides themselves who would not purchase their own and (as they flatter themselves) the kingdom's quiet at any price.

DIGBY, Lord, Oxford, to Captain Beckman, August 29—much grief to hear that he is still a prisoner at Abingdon, and used with great inhumanity.

DIGBY, Lord, to Prince Rupert, no date—his Majesty's negative resolution to the point of going to Bristol; as to the affirmative point, what to do he is yet uncertain.

DORSET, Lord, Newport, to Prince Rupert, December 25—earnestly entreats Prince Rupert not to leave his Majesty in these saddest times; Massey drawn from Ragland; "knows not what to do;" many of the foe lie near Swansea, pelting him with their ordnance; Mitton encroaches on him; gentry fly hither for aid; "will be a burden well nigh to break his neck."

GOODWIN, Ralph, Bristol, to Barford, May 12—sends an intercepted letter concerning Massey.

GORING, George, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, May 19—hears that he is to be rigged out with the foot that were before Taunton, and a good body of horse, and either attempt upon Fairfax on the edge of Wiltshire, or stand upon the defensive, if Cromwell be joined with him.

GORING, George, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, May 19—prays for Mr. O'Neille's restoration to Prince Rupert's service.

GORING, George, Ash near Mastock, to Prince Rupert, May 19—fears that Fairfax and Cromwell will disturb those parts before he can despatch these people to attend them.

GORING, Lord, Dunster, to Lord Digby, July 12—his troops defeated in passing the river at Lamport, has caused great terror amongst the men; Fairfax, with eighteen thousand horse and foot, follow them.

GORING, Lord, Pondesford, supposed to Lord Digby, January 25—opposite orders received in the West, his commission under the Grand Seal being from Prince Rupert; whereas, by the last instructions, he is desired to receive directions from the prince of Wales, who remits all his business to his council; assures Prince Rupert that there is not one man in this army willing to obey it in preference to Prince Rupert's; prefers to be laid aside altogether.

HAWLEY, H., Bristol, to Prince Rupert, August 13—Fairfax continues siege of Sherborne; Hereford sends word that "it must be speedily relieved, for they want rifles, powder, and bullets."

OSBORNE, Henry, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, November 9—concerning his pass to go beyond seas; the King still at Ludlow; in cipher, relative to propositions laid before Parliament.

HYDE, Edward, Bridgenorth, to Prince Rupert, April 27—Prince of Wales here, and truly hath spent his time very well; is very confident that in a few days Taunton will be taken.

HYDE, Edward, Exeter, to Prince Rupert, May 21—confident the King will have a very noble army from these parts; the several garrisons the best conditioned and best fortified in England.

HYDE, Edward, Bath, to Prince Rupert, May 27—Barnstaple the most miraculously fortified place he knows; troubled to find so much sadness and discontent at orders from Court.

JERMYN, Lord, Paris, to Prince Rupert, May 5—prays for Prince Rupert's speedy and safe march to these parts, where he hopes Goring will be able to expect his coming; hears from Bridgewater that he is like to defend his quarters; friendly letter by Queen's order; a romance here in Prince Edward's private marriage to Princess Ann of Nemours; Queen is much offended; he ordered to Holland.

LEGGE, Colonel, Paris, to Lord Digby, June 30—remonstrates on his double dealing towards Prince Rupert.

LEGGE, William, Paris, to Prince Rupert, November 21—frequently moves his Majesty

to recall Prince Rupert, who "swears that if Prince Charles had done as you did, he would never see him without the same he desires from you."

LEVESON, F., Dudley Castle, to Prince Rupert, January 10—ill condition of the soldiers since coming of new commissioners; arrears withheld, very prejudicial to his Majesty's affairs in the present distressed state of Chester.

LOUGHBOROUGH, Lord, Lichfield, to Prince Rupert, July 25—his designs and reasons against Skirmishaw's appointment, he being Colonel Bagot's chiefest assistance in his opposition against himself; and Colonel Syke takes the second command, as granted to him.

LOUGHBOROUGH, Lord, Lichfield, to Prince Rupert, July 30—his reasons for withdrawing from Leicester; plague left at Ashby.

LUCAS, Sir C., Barkby, to Prince Rupert, July 20—excuses himself for not bringing his horse to his Royal Highness at Lansdown, as ordered.

LUCAS, Sir C., Barkby, to Prince Rupert, July 28—disaffected state of the garrison; as many women and children as soldiers; asks for threescore foot and a faithful officer, with English soldiers.

LUNSFORD, Thomas, Monmouth, to Prince Rupert, July 25—this the only garrison left in Gloucester, important to protect Bristol; the Scots are making up the bridge at Rope; if they storm him not till the promised help and the ammunition come, hopes to give a good account.

MASSEY, Edward, Dudley Castle, to General Brown, Governor of Abingdon, (intercepted letter), May 3—advertises Prince Rupert's and Maurice's march from Broadway towards Oxon; desire that his Excellency may have timely notice, also Cromwell.

MAURICE, Prince, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, July 7—has appointed four regiments, and Maxwell's troop of horse to attend Prince Rupert at Bristol; would have come himself, but this place threatened by the Scots.

NORTON, William, Worcester, to Prince Rupert, August 4—Gloucester summoned by gentlemen of the county to surrender; after long debate they refused; Major Turner desirous to make his peace with Prince Rupert.

NICHOLAS, Sir E., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 29—rebels' success in beating up the quarters near this city; Cromwell with two thousand horse and dragoons destroy all he can take.

NICHOLAS, Sir E., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, April 30—vain boasting of the rebels for petty victories; Cromwell purposes replacing Massey at Gloucester; Colonel Windebach condemned to be shot for delivering up Blackington House; reprieved for one day.

NICHOLAS, Sir E., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, May 16—Cromwell, with about seven thousand horse and foot, marches towards Coventry; report that Goring met with Fairfax's forces in the West, and dispersed them; others say that they never came near but ran away by small numbers.

NICHOLAS, Sir E., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, May 22—Fairfax has marched within three miles of his town; designs to join Cromwell.

NICHOLAS, Sir E., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, June 23—Sir F. Fairfax has sent two thousand horse with Massey to the relief of Taunton; London rebels very insolent upon their late victory, and extremely adverse to peace; the King's soldiers taken prisoners at Naseby; turned upon the convoy at Barnet, and only six or seven hundred were conveyed to London.

NICHOLAS, Sir E., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, June 26—Fairfax's council designs his army for Bristol, and by their leaving the ordnance behind, suspects they have a treacherous party in the town; clubmen in Hampshire grow numerous and very stout.

NICHOLAS, Sir E., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, July 11—Scotch army marches south; "lie about Anster and Evesham; they plunder notably in their passage;" Sussex hath brought in to the Tower; will often remain there.

NICHOLAS, Sir E., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, July 12—about one thousand men sent to the Scots' army, with 30,000*l.* from London; apprehension in London about the clubmen; orders for the chiefs to be hanged.

NICHOLAS, Sir E., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, July 23—rebels rendezvous at Reading; one thousand to be sent every week to the aid of Fairfax as long as needed.

NICHOLAS, Sir E., Oxford, to Prince Rupert, January 10—dissuades Prince Rupert from marching into the north, contrary to the advice of the King and council.

OSBORNE, Henry, London, to Prince Rupert, October 4—Colonel Rossiter approves of the manner of Prince Rupert's direction, but cannot answer to Parliament for giving him a convoy to Banbury.

Osborne, Henry, London, to Prince Rupert, November 1—he presents Prince Rupert's letter to Parliament; they will consent to anything to draw Prince Rupert from joining again with Prince Maurice; Queen spreads report at Paris that Prince Rupert sold Bristol for money.

Osborne, Henry, London, to Prince Rupert, November 9—Parliament grants him a pass to embark at Dover, Rye, Southampton, or Yarmouth; rebels insolent on their late success, and quarrel of his Majesty and Prince Rupert.

Osborne, Henry, London, to Prince Rupert—has let the Parliament know that he does not consider the pass an answer to the propositions in Prince Rupert's letter; is desired to appear before the House again on the morrow.

Osborne, Henry, Ludlow, to Prince Rupert, September 5—rebels have begirt Montgomery, and hope Redcastle will fall; county very much altered since the enemy hath gained upon them; the malignancy which hath lain hid in many men's hearts hath now burst forth to a manifest expression.

Rupert, Prince, Bristol, to Duke of Richmond, July 28—wonders at the King's resolution of going to Scotland; his Majesty has no way left to preserve his posterity, his kingdom, and nobility, but by a treaty.

Rupert, Prince, Bristol, to the King, September—acknowledges the King's letter of the 14th; has no motive for becoming an actor in his Majesty's service, but consideration for him; prays to see him.

Rupert, Prince, to the King, October 30—wonders at his Majesty's argument against him of remaining in garrison to consume provisions; waits only for the pass from the Parliament to quit his Majesty of farther trouble concerning him.

Rupert, Prince, to the King, (without date)—is sorry that his former letter was not understood; acknowledges his former errors upon occasion of what happened at Newark.

"A poor servant," November 25, (without superscription) entreats Prince Rupert to submit himself to his Majesty.

Rupert, Prince, to the King—laments his disgrace with his Majesty; prays for forgiveness.

Richmond, Duke of, Cardyff, to Prince Rupert, August 3—in cipher.

Thorald, T., Shrewsbury, to Prince Rupert—describes the ill condition of Newark; Prince Rupert cannot come within a month; prays if he have influence at Oxon to procure aid in less space.

Trevor, Arthur, Bristol, to Prince Rupert, April 30—is providing himself a wardrobe, and will then wait on Prince Rupert; Prince of Wales's journey westward proves very hopeful; Colonel Slingsby with his coach and six taken whilst waiting upon a lady.

Wetson, Leo, Scoutmaster to the rebels, Bridgewater, to Prince Rupert, July 22—relates the taking of Bridgewater by rebels; this letter was intercepted and forwarded by Louis Dyne to his friend Colonel Roe.

Wales, Prince of, Launceston, to Prince Rupert, August 2—letter, chiefly in cipher, in answer to Prince Rupert's to Prince of Wales's council.

SUNDRY PAPERS RELATING TO 1645.

Commission from the King, appointing Prince Rupert Captain-General of the Life-Guards.

April 24—Resolutions of the associated counties of Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall.

June 15—Order of battle at Naseby, King's army.

June 25, and 28—Letters to all these generals to assemble the country together; the King, Prince Rupert, &c., present.

Articles between General Leslie of the Scotch cavalry and Sir H. Stradling, Governor of Carlisle, touching the delivery of the castle, city, and citadel.

November 11—Order of both Houses of Parliament in London for Prince Rupert's and Prince Maurice's pass beyond seas.

The state and plan of Abingdon; how to gain it?

Bellenden, W., Edinburgh, to Prince Rupert, May 4—"the raising of an army long interrupted by Argyll and his corrupt associates and by the seditious preachers; but the colonels are nominated; army to consist of thirty thousand; rendezvous on the 24th inst. this side Tay; Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice have enemies in Eng-

land, but their business here will be done by the Duke of Hamilton and his brother Lanericke.

BALL, John, Rotterdam, to Prince Rupert, December 15—concerning providing provisions for the fleet; the pawning of the Antelope and ordnance; gives great offence here; news of division amongst the rebels.

BAMPFYLDE, Admiral J., to Prince Rupert, July 18—arguments used by Mr. Denham and others of the Presbyterian party against Prince Maurice's accompanying the Prince of Wales to England or Scotland.

BANKES, John, and Devy, Rotterdam, to Prince Rupert, February 14—will pay Prince Rupert the money, as ordered by Lord Hopton and Sir E. Hyde.

BATTEN, W., Rotterdam, to Prince Rupert, November 3—excuses himself from coming on board his Royal Highness's ship, because of malice against him; sends Captain Gordon.

BELLENDEN, W., Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 22—King's affairs prosperous in Scotland; "it is now probable that either by voice or action the Scots will have a great stroke in the settling of his Majesty's affairs.

BERKELEY, Sir John, Teeling, to Prince Rupert, November 13—writes by desire of the Prince of Wales, who hopes to be with Prince Rupert on the morrow; intends to lie this night at Rotterdam; artifice used to prevent his coming.

BLALE, Walter, Mayor, Galloway, to Prince Rupert, March 3—acknowledges Prince Rupert's letter of February 21, concerning the supply of his Majesty's fleet; will give their best assistance, but great scarcity from supplying ships from home to St. Kitts.

BUTLER, Edward, Carrick, to Prince Rupert, March 19—excuses his not coming to kiss Prince Rupert's hands by illness, devotion, &c.

BOSWELL, William, Hague, to Prince Rupert, December 31—commands the ships Mary and Anne, of Aldborough, bound to Amsterdam, to Prince Rupert's protection, which he means to have "prepared speedily for sea."

CASTLEHAVEN, Lord, Craike, to Prince Rupert, February 1—his whole time been employed in drinking Prince Rupert's health; "hath yet so much his wits about him as to congratulate his safe arrival in this kingdom."

CRAVEN, Lord, Hague, to Prince Rupert, November 6—cautions Prince Rupert to take care, "before he leaps," of the condition in which he finds everything.

CULPEPPER, John, Gravenhagh, to Lord Hopton or Sir E. Hyde, November 12—has negotiated for provisions for the fleet; also for powder; the Duke of York ready to undertake the employment; merchants of Rotterdam ready to assist the Duke of York with money; glad that the state of the fleet is so well changed by Prince Rupert's presence.

DODINGTON, Sir F., Hague, to Prince Rupert, December 13—concerning a Captain Van de Baacke to be licensed by Prince of Orange for Prince Rupert's service; the sale of the Antelope; report out of Ireland that Inchiquin is beaten by O'Neile and treats with Parliament.

DODINGTON, Sir F., Rotterdam, to Prince Rupert, December 19—suggests the purchasing provisions from a Dutch vessel.

DODINGTON, Sir F., Rotterdam, to Prince Rupert, December 23—naval arrangements; desires that Prince Rupert's commission be sufficiently full.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Brill, to Prince Rupert, October 1—by desire of the Prince of Wales, writes confident his Royal Highness will meet with no interruption from the States; Prince of Orange is come to the Hague on his way hither.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Brill, to Prince Rupert, October 2—whether fire-ships will be desirable at so great charge and the States fleet stationed between the Prince of Wales and that of Lord Warwick; Prince of Wales desires directions from Prince Rupert with reference to the fleet.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, November 17—disorders of the navy; his Royal Highness "best knows what may be used without taking notice, and what may require a more rough remedy;" refusal of the Duke of York to sail with the fleet.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, November 19—Lord Warwick has come near Prince Rupert with his whole fleet; Prince of Orange made an agreement with Lord Warwick that the Prince's fleet should have twenty-four hours' sail of them; recommends Lord Hopton.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, November 24—discourses here of violence offered by Van Tromp in behalf of Lord Warwick.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, November 26—Prince of Wales intends to go to Jersey ; no dispatches from the King about the treaty.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, November 29—Prince of Wales has given a friendly reception to Batten and Gordon ; correspondences still go on between this place and Lord Warwick.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, December 1—will send Prince Rupert his commissions blank ; no time fixed for the Prince of Wales's journey ; plots going on to prevent his going and to send the Duke of York to France.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, December 5—negotiations for shutting the sluice ; captain of the Thomas and others are false friends to the Prince of Wales ; letters from London give less hope.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, December 6—the captains went last night; hopes Prince Rupert will succeed in arresting them.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, December 11—the month's provision of pickled meat bought from Mr. Webster shewed nought ; neither money nor credit to procure more.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, December 15—Lord Willoughby prays Prince Rupert to employ his kinsman on board his ship ; the captain of the Thomas consents that his ship should serve the Prince of Wales.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, December 30—Prince of Wales desires that the provisions, since not useful to the fleet, be sold.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 20—better, to avoid mistakes, for Prince Rupert himself to write to the Prince of Wales ; good news from Ireland; none from London, but rumours of the King being carried to St. James's ; Prince of Wales thinks of sending an express to know if he can be seen.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 21—continued sad news from London ; Lords unanimously voted against the King's trial ; Commons declared sovereign power to be in them.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, February 28—news arrived of the murder of the King ; received by the States with great detestation of this horrid wickedness ; report of peace at Waterford, and of Prince Rupert's arrival there.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, Rebruary 9—letter of Lord Ormond's to the Prince of Wales, upon the whole cheerful, though some of the army are opposed to peace with the Catholics ; encouragement for the fleet to come to Cork and Kinsale; reminds Prince Rupert of promise to "vouchsafe him some memorials and observations of the late most signal actions in England.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, November 9—hopes that on receipt of Prince Rupert's letter, Prince Charles will go to the fleet instead of to Amsterdam.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, December 10—would have retained the captain, but could not, so exceedingly sensible as is everybody with whom he converses of the difficulties of all kinds with which Prince Rupert has to wrestle.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, December 10—of some seamen, who said they were going to Prince Rupert, if they could have pay.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 24—Scots weary of Argyle; if the Prince of Wales will come "he shall have an army fit to conquer the world; Prince of Wales presented a memoir to the States, which is likely to produce some good effect; talk of sending an Ambassador to London," who shall speak big ; H. Seymour gone there to ask a pass for the King from Fairfax.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 6—will do whatsoever is in his power to make his Royal Highness's great work more easy, but he knows what straits they are in for want of money ; resolution of the Lords that Lord Hopton and himself should immediately wait on Prince Rupert.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 27—deliberation of the Lords concerning Prince Rupert's using the standards, which should be only on going into action ; some try to make a misunderstanding between Prince Rupert and Lord Ormond ; Prince of Wales's opinion of the payment of navy commissioners.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, December 9—Captain Downe desires commission to take prizes, which he shall have as soon as the Prince of Wales has issued any ; States listen to nothing but Sir W. Boswell.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, December 28—proposes the navy ordinance of some ships to be left behind for raising money ; Prince of Wales suggests that all the vessels might be unrigged in order to draw off Lord Warwick ; embezzlement of provisions by pursers, carpenters, &c.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 29—condition of the King grows every day worse and worse, though their own divines have declared to the general officers that they are so far from having any warrant from religion to proceed against his life, that they will be in a state of damnation if they venture upon it; whether Prince Rupert should not make haste to Ireland with what ships he has before the fleet comes.

HYDE, Sir Edward, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 29—news of hopeful condition of affairs in Ireland; doubts not that if Prince Rupert arrives there in safety he will find all things to his wish; Prince of Wales will come to the fleet as soon as he receives advice from Prince Rupert; King removed from Hurst Castle to Windsor December 21.

HOPTON, Lord, Helvoetsluys, to Prince Rupert, December 22—informs Prince Rupert of an offer from Captain Griffith to levy a party of horse, free of cost, for the reduction of Guernsey.

HOPTON, Lord, Helvoetsluys, to Prince Rupert, January 2—Some boats with stores are arrived; prays for money to pay arrears to baker and carpenter.

HOPTON, Lord, Helvoetsluys, to Prince Rupert, January 5—prays necessity of despatch, that the fleet may sail by the spring tides; concerning provisions and payment.

JOHNSON, Jeremiah, Sandowne Castle, to the Prince of Wales, August 6—prays that the muskets taken from the captain of the Thomas may be restored to him, he being a loyal subject and a good man.

JOHNSON, Jeremiah, Sandowne Castle, to Prince Rupert, August 6—that the chests and trunks taken out of the bay of Sandwich be not delivered to Sir Edward Mannings, who doth act as committee of Kent for Parliament.

INCHINQUIN, Lord, Cork, to Prince Rupert, March 6—not convenient to grant W. Chadleigh's exemption fees for vessels in harbour; will wait on Prince Rupert if his employment of preparing the army for the field will allow.

INCHINQUIN, Lord, Cork, to Prince Rupert, March 7—requests the loan of three hundred muskets from those supplied for Prince Rupert's regiment, and to endeavour to recover arms embezzled or sold by land soldiery.

INCHINQUIN, Lord, Cork, to Prince Rupert, March 8—Dublin forces have great numbers offered their services to the Lord-Lieutenant; O'Neille's recruits to come against them; Lord Charles orders to march.

JERMYN, Lord, St. Germains, to Prince Rupert, August 8—congratulates Prince Rupert on his arrival; the Queen has written to Prince Rupert on the subject of the council; absence of Prince of Wales's ship.

JERMYN, Lord, Paris, to Prince Rupert, September 5—advertised of Lord Lauderdale being with the Prince of Wales, and of his resolution of going to Holland and thence to Scotland.

JERMYN, Lord, St. Germains, to Prince Rupert, September 14—the reason of the Queen sending the bearer to the Prince of Wales is her fears of his going to Scotland since the disasters there; wishes him to deliberate.

JERMYN, Lord, Paris, to Prince Rupert, October 16—the Queen has written to Lord Culpepper what she thinks Prince Charles should do; has raised two millions a-year on the town of Paris.

JERMYN, Lord, Paris, to Prince Rupert, November 19—if Prince Rupert cannot sail for Ireland with the whole fleet; recommends him to take only the smaller vessels to Jersey, where there is a good harbour.

KATELBYE, Thomas, Paris, to Prince Rupert, December 14—the governor of the Convertine being dead, John Fortescue of the Antelope asks for his place.

KENT, Joseph, Vincenza, to Prince Rupert, September 30—prays Prince Rupert to prevail with the Prince of Wales that he be confirmed in the consulship of Venice and Nantes, in which he is opposed by a rebel appointment.

LEWKENOR, Charles, Rotterdam, to his brother Sir L. Doddington, November 27—prays him to intercede with Prince Rupert for Captain Golding, for whose fidelity he pledges himself.

LONG, Sir R., Rotterdam, to Prince Rupert, August 12—sends Mr. Fredewy to draw up such orders as Prince Rupert shall require.

LONG, Sir R., the Brill, to Prince Rupert, October 2—signifies that the Prince of Wales will be at Helvoetsluys early on the morrow.

LONG, Sir R., Rotterdam, to Prince Rupert, December 16, 1648-9—Prince of Wales arrived with great difficulty hither; prevented by ice from proceeding to the Sluys.

MENNES, John, Helvoetsluys, to Prince Rupert, January 12—has tried the price of peas and groats, but finds them both too dear; report spread by some villains that there was no meat or pay to be had on board the fleet, which prevent men from entering the service.

MONTROSE, Brussels, to Prince Rupert, September 7—declares himself "a passionate affecter of Prince Rupert and all his ways."

MONTROSE, Brussels, to Prince Rupert, October 7—acknowledges Prince Rupert's "noble and generous expressions."

MONTROSE, Brussels, to Prince Rupert, December 14—would have waited on Prince Rupert; but, being summoned by one who pretends to have orders for him from his Majesty, thinks it very fit for Prince Rupert "that he should smell them out."

MONTROSE, Brussels, to Prince Rupert, December 3—intends to return to the Imperial Court, as there is nothing of honour amongst the stuff here; will always be ready to stake all for the service of Prince Rupert.

MORTON, the Hague, to Prince Rupert, November 15—has exposed to the Prince of Wales those propositions which he had before represented to his Royal Highness; the Prince of Wales seemed to relish them very well.

O'NEILLE, D., Havre, to Lord ——, August 31—hopes by Lord ——'s management to find himself well advanced in his Prince Rupert's favour; "if the last tumult in Paris will let the Lord Lucas and his brother-in-law, Sir G. Hamilton, they will be here on Wednesday next with a little recruit of crowns, "and we will beat it at sea rather than stay here."

NEVILLE, R., London, to Prince Rupert, May 16—apparently an allegorical announcement of Cromwell's yielding to some proposition of Prince Rupert.

O'SULLIVAN, R., Bantry, to Prince Rupert, January 31—encloses reply to his letter to Lord Inchinquin on Prince Rupert's arrival.

O'SULLIVAN, R., Bantry, to Prince Rupert, March 14—presents his nephew, Captain Moragh O'Donovan, to Prince Rupert's service.

MADDER, Fabian, Baltimore, to Prince Rupert, January 26—four vessels are come to this harbour; with the assistance of some ships from Kinsale, hopes to have them, and then will wait on his Royal Highness.

PITT, John, Helvoetsluys, to Prince Rupert, December—affairs of finance connected with the fleet.

ROKEBY, Thomas, Calais, to Prince Rupert, May 6—news that the Duke of York has escaped from St. James's, none know whither.

ROKEBY, Thomas, La Bassey, to Prince Rupert, June 24—Prince of Condé's arrival between Arras and Esperrone; the siege of the latter abandoned on his approach; his forces diminished since he entered Flanders.

VAVASOUR, William, Helvoetsluys, to Prince Rupert, August 1—Goring dissatisfied at being refused a commission; levies in Embden go on slowly.

VAVASOUR, William, Flushing, to Prince Rupert, August 17—has the promise of two hundred men from hence on the payment of 20*l.*

VAVASOUR, William, Middleburgh, to Mr. Long, Prince of Wales's secretary, October 14—urges payment of 250*l.* for the troops, otherwise one hundred and eighty men will be lost.

TALBOT, James, Paris, to Prince Rupert, November 7—matters in Ireland may be easily appeased; his Royal Highness's presence there with the fleet will much comfort and settle that kingdom, and infinitely infest the enemy.

TAAFFE, L., Carrick, to Prince Rupert, February 2—expresses admiration and affection for Prince Rupert.

TYERS, Galway, to Prince Rupert, March 22—being under his Majesty's displeasure debars him from waiting on Prince Rupert, yet offers his bounden duty, and recommends Sir R. Blake as the best man to transact his Royal Highness's business in this town.

WAKE, Baldwin, Castle Cornet, to Prince Rupert, September 14—announces his safe arrival in this important place; despatches an officer to give Prince Rupert information concerning it.

LEGGE, Colonel, Castle Cornet, to Prince Rupert, January 15—after his long imprisonment is allowed to remain within twenty miles; whenever he gets a pass will be ready to go into any place wherever Prince Rupert can employ him.

(No name), in prison at Nottingham Castle, to Prince Rupert, August 26—describes an action in which his troops, engaged gallantly with a superior force, were finally beaten, and he taken prisoner.

(No name), Sorlingue, to Prince Rupert, March 19—prays Prince Rupert to give thought to the defence of these islands.

An address, probably from Prince Rupert to the States—describes the state of the King and his party; and appeals to their lordships that these unparalleled proceedings concern the interests of all Princes and States.

BUTLER, Edmund, Carrick, to Prince Rupert, March 26—a commission from the King confirming the Lord Lieutenant of his desires earnestly to come hither, but prevented by "the gang" his Majesty knows of, and by Scots who court his presence.

CRAVEN, Lord, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 26—on affairs in Ireland and in Paris, where Prince de Condé and M. de Longueville are at the head.

DODINGTON, Sir F., Rotterdam, to Sir John Minnes, January 12—desires to know what day the fleet is to sail that he may first kiss Prince Rupert's hands.

HOPTON, Lord, Helvoetsluys, to Prince Rupert, January 4—a fellow came to arrest the Charles, but was prevented from coming on board; thinks that Prince of Wales should complain to the States.

HOPTON, Lord, Brill, to Prince Rupert, January 10—has conferred particularly with Mr. Clutterbuck about the redeeming the ordnance of the Antelope.

HOPTON, Lord, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 21—has his Royal Highness's orders for the redemption of the Antelope's guns from Dekees.

HYDE, Sir E., Hague, to Prince Rupert, March 18—has not heard of Prince Rupert since he left the Sluys, nor from the Lord ——; Lord Byron still in France, probably waiting on Duke of York.

INCHIQUIN, Lord, Cork, to Prince Rupert, April 3 and 5—has received the signification of Prince Rupert's pleasure concerning the sale of the frigate; had rather than 300*l.* have the use of her; prays for the two hundred men more than necessary for Scilly, to be added to his brother's troops.

JERMYN, Lord, Paris, to Prince Rupert, June 25—good news from Ireland; Queen declares that she owes her prospects to him.

JERMYN, Lord, Paris, to Prince Rupert, June 30—congratulates on Prince Rupert's taking the charge of master of the horse.

JERMYN, Lord, Paris, to Prince Rupert, August 1 and 19—Queen excuses herself from writing to Prince Rupert having a defluxion in the eyes; news from England confirms his opinion of the necessity of Prince Charles's going to Scotland.

JERMYN, Lord, Paris, to Prince Rupert, no date—prays Prince Rupert's assistance concerning some money due to him from Duke of Buckingham.

LONG, Sir Robert, Paris, to Prince Rupert, January 3—has sent Prince Rupert by a servant copies of his own and Lord Jermyn's commissions.

LONG, Sir Robert, the Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 13—has sent Prince Rupert all the dispatches that have been required.

LONG, Sir Robert, the Hague, to Prince Rupert, February 28—the King sends Prince Rupert's new commissions which will receive the great seal when one is prepared; peace concluded in Ireland; troubles in Paris.

MONTROSE, Duke of, the Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 8—"being informed some new imposture is like to delude our sense, thinks fit to send this bearer to receive his Royal Highness's commands."

MONTROSE, Duke of, the Hague, to Prince Rupert, February 8—refers all relation to Beaner, "this gallant honest gentleman."

MONTROSE, Duke of, the Hague, to Prince Rupert, February 27—professions of devotion to Prince Rupert.

MONTROSE, Duke of, no date, to Prince Rupert—refers to matters concerning Nantes not fully explained.

MENNES, John, Kinsale, to Prince Rupert, February 7—Captain of the Silly urges Prince Rupert's sudden departure from the island where he now is.

NICHOLAS, Sir E., Jersey, to Prince Rupert, November 30—news of Ireland by way of London is, that O'Neille has joined Montrose, and that Cromwell has, in consequence, raised the siege of Duncannon and retired into Dublin, also that Prince Rupert has taken six Malaga ships.

O'NEILE, ——, Thurles, to Prince Rupert, March 27—in behalf of Sir R. Stirling, who had a venture in a prize taken by Prince Rupert and is a loyal gentleman.

Copy of a Treaty made at Turin November 1649 between the King of England and the Duke of Savoy.

CARY, Henry and William Legge, Exeter Gaol, to Prince Rupert, December 18—that the Marmaduke has been taken in the Straits under Prince Rupert's com-

mand, and carried into Tallowne; prays that Mr. Cary may have his portion in the venture returned, being related to Prince Rupert's servants.

Cary, Henry and William Legge, Kinsale, to the King, no date—enemy's fleet lies off this harbour; if his Majesty has strength enough it would be easy to destroy them here; if not, advises that his Majesty makes the west part of Limerick or Galway, where coast is clear.

Cashing, William, Sam-gullies Town, to Mr. Pope on board the ship Friendship, December 9—announces a disaster in the blowing up of the stones and some houses from a spark dropped amongst the powder.

Jermyn, Lord, Paris, to Prince Rupert, February 6—is glad to hear of Prince Rupert's safe arrival; affairs here so distracted that it is impossible to give a clear account of them; sends Choqueux to Prince Rupert.

Jermyn, Lord, Paris, to Prince Rupert, February 18—the Cardinal gone; saw Prince of Condé at Havre; not known what arrangement was made between them; perfect union between him, the Duke of Orleans and the Queen; King, notwithstanding his defeat, is raising another and better army.

Marshall, Captain and other Officers, His Majesty's ship Honest Seaman, to Prince Rupert, November 4—relates an affair with a Spanish vessel off Fayal.

M., J., same date, to Prince Rupert—relates loss of Worcester; King and Duke of Buckingham escaped to France; Penn waits in the Straits to waylay Prince Rupert in England; Cromwell governs all.

Pitts, John, Angra, to Prince Rupert, October 17—news from Plymouth of the King's besieging Bristol, and being beaten; account of naval stores in readiness for Prince Rupert.

Pitts, John. Angra, to Prince Rupert, October 17—some merchants have brought on board four thousand dollars; they say they have sent their Peru money to be exchanged at Marseilles.

Pitts, John, Angra, to Prince Rupert, January 15, 1652—informs Prince Rupert of the unbeseeming and dangerous carriage of the gunner of the Revenge who, when drunk, would have taken tobacco over a barrel of powder.

Nicholas, Edward, the Hague, to Prince Rupert, March 17—congratulates him on safe arrival somewhere, after so many tedious storms and happy deliverances; his readiness to serve Prince Rupert.

Nicholas, Edward, without date or signature, apparently from Paris, to Prince Rupert—King continues extremely earnest to have his Royal Highness here, but would have you secure your business when you call; King recommends Colonel Owen and M. l'Abbé to Prince Rupert's service; bids him have a care of his health.

H., De Vie, Brill, to Prince Rupert, May 12, 1653—sends Prince Rupert the passport he commanded the writer to ask from the Archduke; does not attribute to the backwardness of the latter its not being done sooner.

Cocks, Robert, Lisbon, to Prince Rupert, April 24—long interesting letter on Prince Rupert's private affairs.

Craven, Tim., Nantes, to Prince Rupert, June 2—relates how his ship was separated from Prince Rupert's fleet and wrecked on the coast of Hispaniola.

Drummond, Patrick, Camphire, to Prince Rupert, May 28—has received Prince Rupert's orders, and will carefully follow them, for following the process.

Jermyn, H., Paris, to Prince Rupert, March 22—congratulates on safe arrival; Queen is entirely Prince Rupert's constant friend.

Holder, Job, Paris, to Prince Rupert, December 3—correspondent in England has been lately in the North, and hopes to give such an account of his Majesty's affairs as may not be altogether unsatisfactory.

Holmes, Robert, his Majesty's ship Hopnell, to Prince Rupert, April 14—concerning a breach of Prince Rupert's orders committed by Captain Fearnes and Mr. Pyne; people very quiet, but seamen few.

Holmes, Robert, Nantes, to Prince Rupert, May 3—concerning the removal of some goods; Prince Rupert's return here expected suddenly.

Holmes, Robert, Nantes, to Prince Rupert, May 17—has received Prince Rupert's commands for the elephant's teeth; gets up mutiny amongst the French at Penbeef, which he pacified.

Holmes, Robert, Nantes, to Prince Rupert, May 19—has marched on M. Marshall, who was pleased, with very high expressions, to tell him that he will not fail with open arms to embrace every occasion of serving Prince Rupert, and orders the charge of his magazines to be ready for his stores.

HOLMES, Robert, Nantes, to Prince Rupert, May 24—has found some elephant's teeth hid in the ballast which, with the sugar and chocolate, sends to Prince Rupert.

HOLMES, Robert, Portloney, to Prince Rupert, June 13—complains of Captain Fearns; informs about ordnance.

KENT, Joseph, Venice, to Prince Rupert, October 18—Flemish so scour these seas that there are few English ships left, but those in the Venetian service.

LENDONE, Robert, Hague, to Prince Rupert,—states his sad condition, and craves employment under Prince Rupert.

MANSELL, John, Hague, to Prince Rupert, April 23—was taken at the battle of Worcester, and after five months imprisonment had come to Holland, where he had perfected a species of firework for shooting into the sails of ships.

HOLDER, Job, Heidelberg, to Prince Rupert, July 25—the Diurnall says "Jack is beheaded, and another hanged, and that the Portugals ambassador's brother was beheaded at the same time, and another English gentleman hanged.

HOLDER, Job, Heidelberg, to Prince Rupert, August 1—V. Pine has made an end of measuring the Cloysture and Langessel; these lands to be confirmed to Prince Rupert by the Elector.

HOLDER, Job, Heidelberg, to Prince Rupert, August 8—an express from the emperor, signifying that the King of England having expressed an intention of coming to the Court of Vienna; he wishes the elector to dissuade him from it.

HOLDER, Job, Heidelberg, to Prince Rupert, August 26—recapitulates the subjects of his letters to Prince Rupert from August 3rd.

HOLDER, Job, Heidelberg, to Prince Rupert, September 1—letter of August 21, from Sir M. Langdale, says "that travelling in those countries begins to be dangerous, by reason of the Swedes forces."

HOLDER, Job, Heidelberg, to Prince Rupert, October 7—very ill news from Scotland, that the rebels have finished their work there as they have in Ireland."

HOLDER, Job, Heidelberg, to Prince Rupert, October 14—Elector sent for him and complains that Sir Leslie has been rash and inconsiderate in the affair at Langessel, and desires to write thus that his Royal Highness may have nothing farther to do with him.

LANGDALE, Marshal, Antwerp, to Prince Rupert, March 11—news that the Scots be in very good condition, and had given the English rebels a very good blow.

NICHOLAS, E., Cologne, to Mr. Taylor, resident at Vienna for King of Great Britain, November 10—account of Cromwell's accident in Hyde Park; the thing he calls a Parliament begins again to cross his designs; to render his office hereditary; divisions amongst the States of Holland; no ill news to us, since they are so united with the worst of rebels in England.

CARY, Frederick, Rynberck, to Prince Rupert, September 11—by Prince Rupert's commands delivers six couple of hounds.

NICHOLAS, Edward, Brussels, to Prince Rupert, May 6—the King surprised that Lord Jermyn should recommend Colonel Bampfield, whom he is assured is at this time in Cromwell's service; the people of Ostend have taken a French troop sent against them by the French; hatred against Cromwell in England very great, yet none will rise to suppress him and his party, unless they see some foreign forces landed to secure them in their rising.

PRINCE CHARLES, Hague, to Prince Rupert, December 2—has not made his resolutions concerning the ships, but still intends that those that can be made should put to sea; also those provisions and powder that were promised.

PRINCE CHARLES, Hague, to Prince Rupert, December 26—instructions touching the execution of his commission as admiral of the fleet.

PRINCE CHARLES, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 5—according to Prince Rupert's desire declares that whenever the Duke of York shall desire authority over the fleet, Prince Rupert shall act in subordination to him.

PRINCE CHARLES, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 8—recommends Captain Forier, who hath served the King faithfully in the north to service in the fleet, and under Lord Ormond.

PRINCE CHARLES, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 28—prays Prince Rupert to see the petition of Captain Bing, who hath been long on board the fleet, and served the King faithfully.

PRINCE CHARLES, Hague, to Sir George Carteret, Bart., Lieutenant-Governor of Isle of Jersey, January 11—Prince Rupert having instructions to put in at Jersey, Prince

Charles entreats the governor will not only give him his best advice, but all the assistance he can, in case he think fit to make an attempt upon Guernsey.

PRINCE CHARLES, St. Germains's, to Prince Rupert, August 3—advertised that the Governor of Kinsale and others have taken money of Cromwell to betray the town.

PRINCE CHARLES, St. Germains, to Prince Rupert, November 7—recommends the bearer, Thomas Reade, as will profit to serve Prince Rupert in the fleet for the sale of the goods and merchandise which he shall take.

PRINCE CHARLES, Castle Elizabeth, Jersey, to the Marquis of Ormond, November 13—desires that means be afforded Prince Rupert to convert foreign money into coin of the realm at any Irish port where he may land.

PRINCE CHARLES, Jersey, to Prince Rupert, November 15—is full of Prince Rupert's opinion concerning his going to Ireland; desires Prince Rupert to come to Rochelle, Brest, or Barnett, and he will meet him there; Choquée will give an account of all the other businesses.

PRINCE CHARLES, Jersey, to Prince Rupert, December 4—has despatched the bearer, Choquée, with full instructions about Prince Charles's journey to Ireland; hears that Ormond raised the siege of Duncannon; had fought with Cromwell and driven him to Wexford.

PRINCE CHARLES, Jersey, to Prince Rupert, January 15—gives Prince Rupert power to fill up blank commissions for captains to ships.

PRINCE CHARLES, Jersey, to Prince Rupert, January 27—desires him to repair to Helvoetsluys to act as a judge of the Admiralty, or to appoint a deputy in his place.

PRINCE CHARLES, Hague, to Prince Rupert, misdated January 27—if the ship now taken prove a prize, desires that at least 300*l.* worth of the proceeds be given to the governor of Jersey.

PRINCE CHARLES, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 27—having already disbursed for the fleet a considerable part of those moneys intended for King Charles's own support and maintenance, is unable to discharge the debt contracted at Helvoetsluys for the same, and must provide for it out of the proceeds of the ship's goods, if good prize.

PRINCE CHARLES, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 27—authorizes Prince Rupert to appoint salaries to the commissioners; is employed in Ireland to dispose of goods and merchandize taken by his Majesty's fleet.

PRINCE CHARLES, Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 28—authorises Prince Rupert to reimburse himself for money advanced to the service of the fleet out of proceeds of prizes already taken.

KING CHARLES II., Hague, to Prince Rupert, March 17—that Prince Rupert will supply his Majesty with as much money as he can for the relief of his great and pressing necessities, in consideration of a merchant vessel from Rotterdam, belonging to M. Foord, about to deliver its goods to him in Ireland.

KING CHARLES II., Hague, to Prince Rupert, January 20—professes friendship to Prince Rupert, and that any who shall dare to whisper anything to the prejudice of it, the reward shall fall on his own head.

KING CHARLES II., Jersey, to Prince Rupert, January 31—has resolved (in consequence of an address from his subjects in Scotland) upon a new treaty with them at Breda, but assures Prince Rupert that he will consent to nothing that shall diminish his authority over the fleet, or the prosperity of the navy.

KING CHARLES II., Hague, to Prince Rupert, February 19—urges the importance of engaging the army of Munster to his Majesty's service; desires that 1000*l.* out of the first prize-money be paid to the Marquis of Ormond for its support; receives injunctions about Cornett Castle.

CHARLES II., Hague, to Prince Rupert, February 27—recommends Thomas Henry Smith for faithful service in the fleet.

CHARLES II., Hague, to Prince Rupert, March 6—entreats Prince Rupert to assist Lord Derby, by employing ships under his command for the defence of the Isle of Man, where he has retired.

CHARLES II., Hague, to Prince Rupert, March 7—entreats Prince Rupert to give General Monk all the assistance and encouragement in his power, being employed in some important things, for his Majesty's service.

CHARLES II., Hague, to Prince Rupert, April 8—recommends three seamen to be immediately received into his Majesty's service.

CHARLES II., Hague, to Prince Rupert, March 18—entreats Prince Rupert to receive

with favour John Boyle, whom he has appointed a commissioner for the ordering and disposing of prize goods.

CHARLES II., Hague, to Prince Rupert, March 20—the preservation of the Isles of Scilly is of such great importance, that he entreats Prince Rupert to contribute all he can to the assistance and relief of the Government, and especially to appoint a frigate to be under his command.

CHARLES II., Paris, to Prince Rupert, April 2—seeing the probability of his Majesty having reason shortly to go to Holland, urges the necessity of Prince Rupert's hastening the preparation of the fleet; and to make all haste hither.

CHARLES II., Paris, to Prince Rupert, June 26—Sir G. Lucas having a claim for certain sums advanced by him for the fleet, albeit he cannot produce the accounts, desires Prince Rupert may, after satisfying more certain claims, pay him one thousand livres on account.

CHARLES II., Paris, to Prince Rupert, August 2—another recommendation for Sir G. Lucas, considering risked condition.

CHARLES II., Palais Royal, Paris, to Prince Rupert, October 27—authorizes Prince Rupert to sell Swallow for the use of his Majesty's pressing necessities.

CHARLES II., Paris, to Prince Rupert, November—urges his speedy coming to him.

CHARLES II., Palais Royal, February 6—fears there has been some great advantage gained in the channel by the rebel fleet; will hasten *thither* if his presence be acceptable.

CHARLES II., Paris, to Prince Rupert, February 19—writes to meet Prince Rupert at his landing at some French port to desire he may give credit to what he may hear from the attorney-general; does not write more himself, having lost the cipher.

CHARLES II., Dunkirk, to Prince Rupert, November 12—Bamfield, who has had the impudence to apply to Prince Rupert, is a spy of Cromwell's.

CHARLES II., Paris, to Prince Rupert, March 22—is surprised with joy by the assurance of Prince Rupert's safe arrival in these parts; if he could feel like assurance of his brother's safety, need not tell him how important it would be to his affairs.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
Printed by S. & J. Bentley and Henry Fley,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

00029825

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 April, 2016